BECOMING BOURGEOIS

Love, Kinship, & Power in Provincial France, 1670–1880

CHRISTOPHER H. JOHNSON

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Becoming Bourgeois

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To Lois, as always

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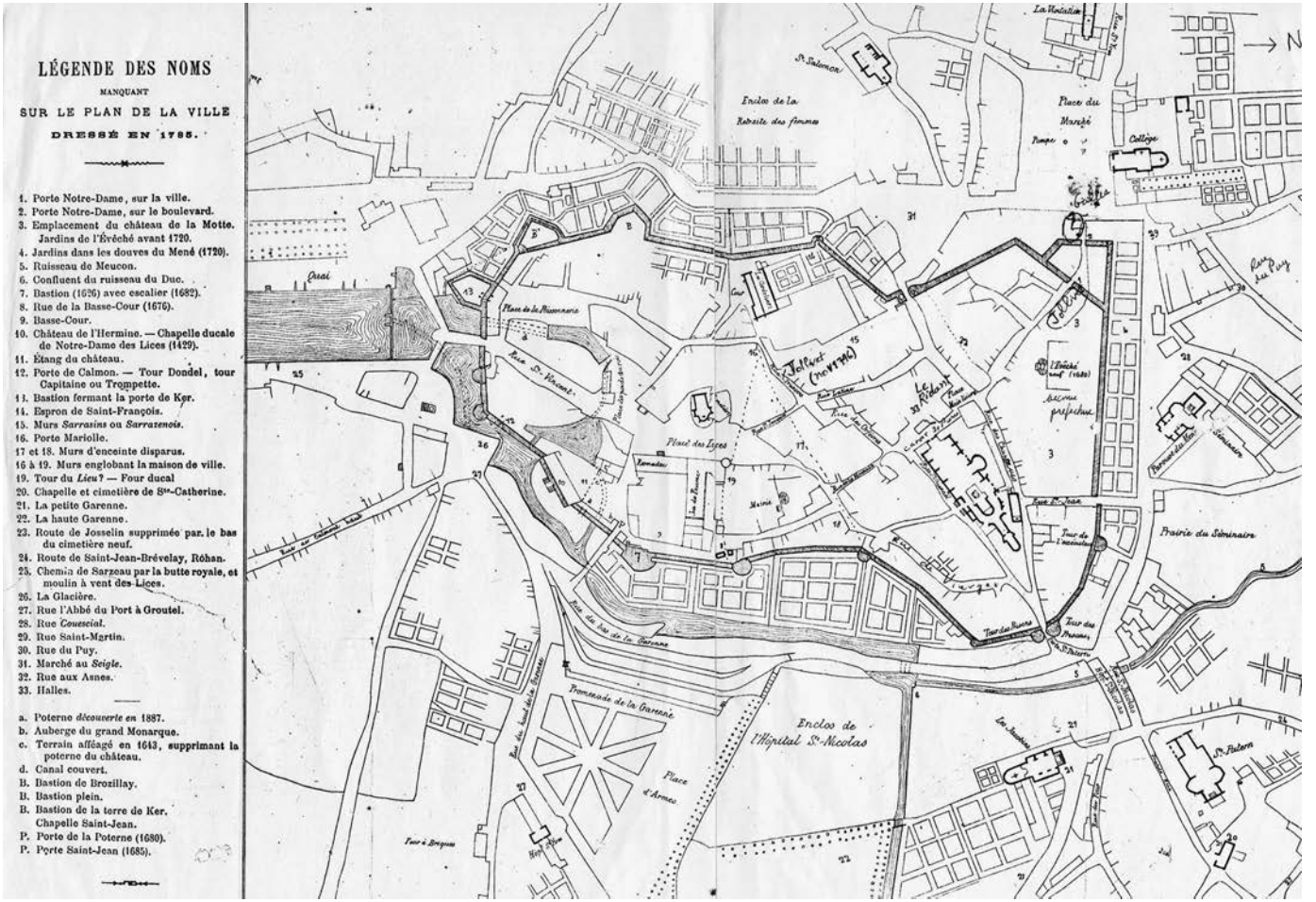
Becoming Bourgeois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Rue du Port
Rue des Douves de la Garenne
Rue du Pont de la Garenne
Rue du Mené
Rue Le Pelletier
Rue Le Pelletier
Rue Le Pelletier

Introduction

"Vers la fin du XVIIIe siècle, dans la ville de Vannes deux familles de la bourgeoisie jouissaient de la considération unanime du pays. Voici leur histoire."

Thus did René Galles, a retired *intendant général* and historian-archaeologist of this corner of Brittany, begin his "Journal," written in 1882 and 1883. He had amassed at least a thousand letters saved by his parents, grandparents, and a wide variety of other relatives, the earliest dating from 1749, along with a variety of business documents, property deeds, account books, and personal papers, and used them expertly in fashioning images of his parents' generation and his own. In 1818 Eugène Galles and Adèle Jollivet, René's father and mother, and cousins-german, had re-cemented the ties between these two families, first brought together in a grand double wedding on April 16, 1787, in the Cathedral of Saint-Pierre. A third family was integral to René's kin world and appears throughout his journal. The bride of grandfather René Jollivet (but not Adèle's mother) was Jeanne Le Ridant, whose brother Jean-Marie would marry Adèle's aunt Marie-Joseph Jollivet in 1798. She would have an enormous influence on the destinies of all three families. Although René Galles did not finish his story and never published any of it, he knew he had a good tale to tell, especially that of his parents.

The extensive correspondence of Eugène and Adèle forms the core of a collection that René Galles's heirs bequeathed to the departmental archives of the Morbihan in 1903.[1] Rare among personal papers deposited in public archives, they contain much material that can guide us to the interiors of French family life. René definitely sorted, for there are many letters quoted in his "Journal" that are not in the archives; others were recopied, and still others have turned up elsewhere, but this collection is remarkable in both its lack of predictability, of "stock" letter-writing forms, and its intimacy. While the love letters are rarely racy, they are often deeply meaningful. Though strains and conflicts are usually not glaring, they are certainly discernible. And because of their chronological range (1749–1852), these letters allow us to follow a process: the emergence of a family, the Galles, from the artisanal world of the eighteenth-century print shop to provincial and ultimately national bourgeois status, a process greatly enhanced by their kinship with the Jollivets and Le Ridants, along with the expanding networks of kin that ultimately linked them to most of their city's elite. The depth

1. Fonds Galles, Archives départementales du Morbihan (hereafter ADM), 2 J 1–138.

of the correspondence and its personal nature allow us to go far beyond—or rather beneath—the traditional modes of tracking "becoming bourgeois" in business correspondence, account books, contracts, wills, and tax forms into the nuanced domains of culture.

Documentation for this book includes the Galles family papers—the heart of which comprises 733 letters of varying length, but most crammed onto four pages in small longhand, and two memoirs, tax records, and inventories (including personal library holdings)—notarial documents (especially marriage contracts and wills), vital (*état civil*) records, court proceedings, smaller manuscript collections relating to the Jollivets, Le Ridants, and other connected families (including another thirty-eight personal letters), and the usual range of public documents needed to place all of them in the local, regional, and national context. I have also undertaken an extensive analysis of the marriage records of the elite of Vannes during the first half of the nineteenth century to understand the more general character of kinship in the city and its environs, thus identifying similar constellations and their relationship with others. The final picture is that of a vast cousinage that dominates civil society and politics and sets the social, moral, and intellectual standards for the rest of the population.

Correspondence and Its Limits

In France, the exploitation of *fonds privés* by historians in search of the interior worlds of families has developed significantly over the past several decades.[2] Despite the reluctance of French families to release correspondence and personal papers to the public domain, persistence and luck among researchers have paid off.[3] I discovered the Galles papers by accident in 1986 while searching for private records in departmental archives to begin a project on master artisans and small business people. "Galles, Imprimeur" popped up among the *fonds privés* in the Morbihan archives.[4]

At that time, French historians were beginning to take a strong interest in "ordinary correspondence," digging through existing local archives and searching for private family archives whose current keepers might be willing to open them. *Col-*

2. This has culminated in the creation of a major research initiative within the Centre national de la Recherche scientifique chaired by Jean-Pierre Bardet and François-Joseph Ruggiu, "Les écrits du for privé du moyen âge à 1914" (www.ecritsduforprive,fr), which focuses on documents representing the inner self. As we shall see, several of the studies sponsored by this group add comparative contextualization to the events and affective relationships that make up the long history of our families. The most relevant publication is Jean-Pierre Bardet, Elisabeth Arnoul, and François-Joseph Ruggiu, eds., *Les écrits du for privé en Europe du Moyen Âge à l'époque contemporaine: Enquêtes, analyses, publications* (Bordeaux, 2010). On the centrality of notarial documents, an indirect avenue to the *for privé* in early modern family history, see Scarlett Beauvalet, Vincent Gourdon, and François-Joseph Ruggiu, eds., *Liens sociaux et actes notariés dans le monde urbain en France et en Europe* (Paris, 2004).

3. On the historical roots of this notion of privacy, especially within the bourgeoisie, see Annik Pardaihlé-Galabrun, *The Birth of Intimacy: Privacy and Domestic Life in Early Modern Paris*, trans. Jocelyn Phelps (Cambridge, 1991).

4. The now growing mass of private correspondence available in France seems to be still largely from the upper tiers of society. The Galles' correspondence is unusual in that it includes some from their artisan days. On the historiography of the pursuit of "ordinary correspondence" and the search for voices of the vast world beneath the elites, see Bibliographical Note 1.

loques and special issues of reviews abounded. This early enthusiasm culminated in a massive volume published in 1997 presenting research from all corners of France.[5] It was tempered almost immediately by another trend stressing that personal correspondence, which in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with the flowering of national postal systems, became a necessary and ubiquitous element in the life of literate society, must be treated with great care by historians seeking to penetrate the inner world of their subjects. The point was straightforward: the correspondence available to them had often been sorted and culled, especially of intimacies that might be compromising or embarrassing, by the correspondents themselves or by later readers assembling them. Moreover, much letter writing had become a patterned procedure following dictates of form and content, often learned from manuals.[6] The best example of this perspective was *Ces bonnes lettres: Une correspondance familiale au XIXe siècle* by Cécile Dauphin, Pierrette Lebrun-Pézerat, and Danièle Poublan. Working with a collection of some three thousand letters from upper-middle-class families, they concluded that "breaking and entering" into the emotions of family life was impossible and settled for the notion of a *pacte épistolaire*, a tacitly agreed-upon mode of correspondence among family members that becomes visible as a bonding agent and as a means of establishing and continuing a particular family identity. Letters can do only so much, they argue, in understanding a family's history and must be treated at arm's length as sources in the history of the emotions. But approached from an anthropological perspective, "family correspondence can be regarded as the product of a ritualized practice in which individuals, confronted with an array of references and models, have to classify reality and reevaluate their relations with others."[7] The actual contents, the words used, are symbolic of a ritual system and cannot be trusted to represent "real" feelings. It is difficult to assess the impact of this work. Some subsequent studies simply ignored it, while another, by Martyn Lyons, enshrined it as dictating a research "focus not on the contents of private correspondence but on letters as cultural artifacts," and declaring categorically that letters "would never discuss romance or open up about family dramas, and they rarely mention anything happening outside the family."[8] The problem here is that these particular *bonnes lettres*, as voluminous as they may be, seem indeed to have been shorn of most emotional content, so much so that *banalité* becomes one of the analytical tools of the argument. As Roger Chartier

5. The proceedings of the 120th Congrès national des Sociétés historiques et scientifiques were published as Pierre Albert, ed., *Correspondre jadis et naguère* (Paris, 1997).

6. This analytical trend was pioneered under the direction of Roger Chartier in *La correspondance: Les usages de la lettre au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1991).

7. Cécile Dauphin, Pierrette Lebrun-Pézerat, and Danièle Poublan, *Ces bonnes lettres: Une correspondance familiale au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1995), 99. The one-hundred-page third chapter, titled "Le ritual," contains a thorough content analysis of the structure and processes of the ritual of letter writing.

8. Martyn Lyons, *Reading Culture and Writing Practices in Nineteenth-Century France* (Toronto, 2008), 176–77. Among those not citing *Ces bonnes lettres* are the excellent intimate family histories by Christine Adams, *A Taste for Comfort and Status: A Bourgeois Family in Eighteenth-Century France* (University Park, PA, 2000); Christine Pellissier, *La vie privée des notables lyonnais au XIXe siècle* (Lyon, 1996), and *Loisirs et sociabilités des notables lyonnais au XIXe siècle* (Lyon, 1996); and Anne Verjus and Denise Davidson, *Le roman conjugal: Chroniques de la vie familiale à l'époque de la Révolution et de l'Empire* (Seyssel, 2011).

notes in his preface to the book, "in the letters carefully preserved by M. Foissart, *la réserve reste grande*."[9]

Can one generalize, in good faith, from a single collection? This "grande réserve" and the "nevers" of Lyons are simply not the case in the correspondence preserved by René Galles, and I am quite comfortable in using it as the essential foundation of this book. They are also contradicted profusely in other studies, especially those of Catherine Pellissier and Anne Verjus and Denise Davidson, though less so in Christine Adams's eighteenth-century study, where the *pacte épistolaire* is visible but does not impede the author from opening new windows on education and practices within the professions of law and medicine as well as internal family love and mutual support. Pellissier defended the notion that aspects of the emotional lives of families can indeed be plumbed through letters in an essay published in response to Michelle Perrot's rather bald assertion that "private letters do not constitute true documents of private life."[10] No one who works with letters would argue that they are transparent and spontaneous documents of "true" reality. But Pellissier speaks for Verjus and Davidson—and myself (and many others)—when she says, "A long immersion in [Lyon's] patrician intimate world allows one to reject [Perrot's notion] of the 'fortress' of the private, even if access remains limited." For Pellissier, most fundamental is indeed the penetration of the emotions, heightened as a "remedy for absence." Unlike some collections in which letters were widely read,[11] in most of her correspondence "between husbands and wives, the intimacy is great—though the secrets of the alcove remain closed." The last is a barrier breached dramatically by the work of Verjus and Davidson and more circumspectly by my own. Pellissier sums up her perspective: "All these missives appear little codified. Very spontaneous, they are a theater for the effusion of sentiments."[12]

Ces bonne lettres is nevertheless valuable in alerting us to the pitfalls and limitations of what correspondence can contribute to historical understanding. My approach here is to let the letters speak for themselves as much as possible, and I measure the conclusions drawn from them. My hope is that this book might have the flavor of an epistolary novel, that genre so popular in the eighteenth century. But we

9. Roger Chartier, preface to *Ces bonnes lettres*, viii.

10. Michelle Perrot, *Histoire de la vie privée*, ed. Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby, vol. 4 (Paris, 1987), 11; in English, *History of Private Life*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, vol. 4 (Cambridge, MA, 1990), 3–4.

11. She offers the example of the Boileau letters used by Caroline Chotard-Loiret, "Une correpondance privée entre 1870 et 1920: Témoin de la sociabilité familiale en provence" (thesis, Paris IV, 1983), an unpublished work widely cited in *Private Life* and a precursor to *Ces bonnes lettres*. See Catherine Pellissier, "Les correspondances des élites lyonnaises au XIXe siècle," in Albert, *Correspondre*, 387–404, quote 389.

12. Pellissier, "Les correspondances," 388–89. See also the introduction to her book *La vie privée des notables Lyonnais (XIXe siècle)* (Lyon, 1996), 5–10. It should also be noted that Cécile Dauphin and Danièle Poublan seem to have moderated their more structuralist views on the significance of correspondence. See their fascinating article "De l'amour et du mariage: Une correspondance familiale au XIXe siècle," *Liens familiaux, Clio: Histoire, Femmes et Société* 34 (2011): 125–37. For a wonderfully detailed analysis of the modes of letter writing and a spirited defense of letters as a profoundly important form of literature, one that allowed women to be full participants in the debates of the Enlightenment as well as to find an autonomous voice of their own, see Dena Goodman, *Becoming a Woman in the Age of Letters* (Ithaca, NY, 2009). For those who might still doubt the depths of emotion tapped in nineteenth-century letters, see my discussion in chapter 4, "The Sibling Archipelago."

must be ever attentive to this reality: as spontaneous as they may seem, "letters are not usually or always transparent statements of feeling. People represent themselves to the other as they wish to be seen, as they want to be recognized. Letters construct a persona as much as they express one."[13] The people of this book, especially its central figure, Adèle Jollivet Galles, will speak to us through this dark, but not opaque, glass as we seek to understand who they were—or at least might have been.

Kinship, Class, Sociability, and the Interior History of the Bourgeoisie

Although this book is structured as a narrative chronicle of a family and their kin world, my hope is to contribute to larger debates about the nature of the Western transition to modernity. Specifically, I seek to elucidate, through the microhistory of these people, the ways in which interactive forces of family, kinship, gender, emotion, and class shaped the process.

Most fundamentally, I argue on behalf of the continuing relevance of class analysis, shorn of its roots in Marxist social history, by adding three crucial ingredients: kinship as a key bonding agent as it develops in the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and becomes increasingly based in consanguineous marriage; sociability as it plays out in that kin world and beyond; and the taken-for-granteds of everyday life—the ways of doing things, the values, the interpersonal relationships, the presentation of self, and the structures of power in the family's interior that mark the bourgeois way of life in nineteenth-century France.

At every turn in the rise of the Galles–Jollivet–Le Ridant families, their kin connections helped pave the way. But beyond their personal paths to becoming "bourgeois" (celebrated in René Galles's opening line), I document, through genealogical analysis, their entry into an elite that was intricately linked by kinship. Consolidating during the Empire and Restoration and coming into its own thereafter, it was an elite distinct from both the local aristocracy and less wealthy professionals and small business people. Economically, they were the richest non-nobles of the Vannetais, almost all *censitaires* (taxpayers assessed enough to vote in a very narrow suffrage) by the time of the July Monarchy. During that regime, they came to dominate local, regional, and departmental appointive and elective office and took the lead in civil society and civic improvement initiatives. Politically—and this is my most interesting finding—this bourgeois elite ranged from families rooted in Revolutionary and Imperial leadership to monarchists like my families, but in the course of time, such political differences became less important as their social affinity homogenized. How? Above all, they *intermarried*. In the end, they formed a moderate political middle (center-right, center-left) that ran local and regional politics, with a brief hiccup in 1848, at least until 1914. Simultaneously, the Galles families and their class combined sociability and civic betterment though the Masonic lodge, various charitable associations, and

13. Personal communication to the author from Joan Wallach Scott, August 20, 2012. I have preserved the original French in a 150-page typescript of the letters quoted in this book, which can easily be made available.

the local/regional learned society. In the 1860s and 1870s this last, led by René and Louis Galles, waged an intellectual battle in defense of the historical "Frenchness" of Brittany against the aristocratic-led proponents of Breton-Celtic racial uniqueness and claims for provincial autonomy. It was a conflict between urban, Francophone "bourgeois" (also in the oldest sense) and aristocrats claiming stewardship over the Breton-speaking peasantry.[14] Within this context, and throughout the developing cohesion of this class, one can observe—through correspondence, journals, speeches, and transcripts of meetings around activities of civil society and politics—a growing self-confidence in the correctness of their vision for society and the state and satisfaction with the well-deserved place of their families within them, founded upon an amalgam of reason, virtue, love, and moral rectitude. It was a vision they presented not as class-based but as *right* and beneficial to all within their society.

In a famous essay, Roland Barthes argued that "the bourgeoisie is the social class that does not want to be named"; it "ex-nominates itself." Envisaged instead was a classless society consisting of individuals, each possessing a self with rational capacities, who sought individual instrumental ends, but were also capable of exercising "public reason" to generate public opinion, a tribune higher than any king. This universalizing myth was sustained by the sub-myth of unlimited social mobility, which in the bourgeois experience was by definition a reality, but was then extrapolated as the potential of all human beings. In the end, what came to be established was a whole range of standards and norms largely invisible because they were habitual. Beneath Gramsci's hegemonic culture, though ingrained by it in literature, art, theater, and film as well as the public functions of education, social services, carceral institutions, and the law, Barthes saw an unnamed "bourgeois ethic" pervading France. It is exhibited everywhere and in everything in everyday life.[15] The anthropologist Beatrix Le Wita documents this style today: how one walks or knots her scarf, the food one eats and how one eats it, the properly accented language of everyday exchange, the protocols of family relationships and sexual behavior, medical beliefs, the rituals of life's passages, how one handles grief and disappointment, the mechanisms and standards of friendship, the protocols of business operations and the understanding of boundaries between professional and domestic life, the arts of entertaining and the standards of polite discussion, notions of honor and shame.[16] These and dozens of other taken-for-granted norms of behavior do not simply mark the upper reaches of French society but are the standards *for* French society, indeed for human beings in general.[17]

14. I first developed these themes in Christopher H. Johnson, "Kinship, Civil Society, and Power in Nineteenth-Century Vannes," in *Kinship in Europe: Approaches to Long-Term Development*, ed. David Warren Sabean, Simon Teuscher, and Jon Mathieu (New York, 2007), 258–83, and "Class Dimensions of Blood, Kinship, and Race in Brittany, 1780–1880," in *Blood and Kinship: Matter for Metaphor from Ancient Rome to the Present*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson, Bernhard Jussen, David Warren Sabean, and Simon Teuscher (New York, 2013), 196–226. See also David Warren Sabean, "Kinship and Class Dynamics in Nineteenth-Century Europe," in Sabean, Teuscher, and Mathieu, *Kinship in Europe*, 301–13.

15. Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (New York, 1972), 137–41.

16. Béatrix Le Wita, *French Bourgeois Culture*, trans. J. A. Underwood (Cambridge, 1994).

17. For a fascinating defense of this vision and way of life by a believer, see Deirdre N. McCloskey, *The Bourgeois Virtues: Ethics for an Age of Commerce* (Chicago, 2006).

The greatest impact of this style is among what Barthes called the petite bourgeoisie, Americans the "middle class." As he put it, "It is from the moment when the typist making twenty pounds a month *recognizes herself* in the big wedding of the bourgeoisie that bourgeois ex-nomination achieves its full effect." The political significance of this effect is self-evident: although the typist, bank clerk, corner baker, farmer, computer operator, and skilled worker are unlikely to achieve the economic success of the trendsetters and in fact never really achieve their style (as Pierre Bourdieu shows so well),[18] their everyday behavior demonstrates that they have been absorbed into the bourgeois ethos and they vote within its ambit. Since these "normalized relations" are so extensive, so natural, attract so little attention, Barthes writes, "their origin is easily lost."[19]

My book is about these origins. I want to give form, in analyzing the French bourgeoisie, to what Bourdieu has identified as the "habitus." The habitus can be defined most simply as an "immanent law," a system of dispositions ingrained in members of the group from their earliest upbringing, upon which are based the broad range of everyday practices that give coherence to life and to the life of the group. Not only does the habitus serve as a medium of communication within the group, but also it serves to mobilize the group for collective action in relation to leadership; in other words, it serves as a basis for politics. It is much more complex than "interest" and is not "rational," at least in a purposive way. Finally, it is constantly changing as the contingencies of history give rise to new strategies that then become structured as taken-for-granted dispositions. "In short," writes Bourdieu, "the habitus, the product of history, produces individual and collective practices, and hence history, in accordance with the scheme engendered by history." The habitus, then, is a palace of memories that can shift and take new forms over time. Let us add greater flexibility and agency to this notion by attaching Marshall Sahlins's concept of the "performative," whereby the habitus can be conceived of as a repertoire of elements that an agent may or may not choose to perform.[20]

What I am tracing is the quite spectacular shift that takes place in the nature of the bourgeois habitus from the earlier eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century. At the center of the process lies the transformation of the practices and representations of marriage and kinship. This transformation has now been copiously documented by a group of mostly European historians and anthropologists (which I joined in 2000) under the leadership of David Sabean. Its essence is this: "During the eighteenth century, . . . [kinship] structures stressing descent, inheritance and succession, patrilines, agnatic lineages and clans, paternal authority, house discipline and exogamy gradually gave way to patterns centered around alliance, sentiment, interlocking networks of kindred, and social and familial endogamy." It brought the relationship between siblings to the center of the kinship system. Property devolu-

18. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA, 1984).

19. Barthes, *Mythologies*, 140.

20. Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA, 1977), 82; Marshall Sahlins, *Islands of History* (New York, 1985), ix–xiii, 26–31.

tion became less concerned with the maintenance of a singular patrimony, focusing instead on the deployment and generation of wealth across broader circuits where money, credit, and exchange would be distributed among and reinforced by trusted family members, whatever their rank in birth order (or indeed sex), an arrangement that proved more valuable to families than the stability of the past. Interlocking marriage alliances (often consanguineous) allowed for the building of further connections while also consolidating wealth.[21] As these changes proceeded (though certainly not because of them alone), class cohesion and a distinctive code of behavior that claimed universal validity came into being by the mid-nineteenth century, establishing a kind of moral stronghold that, along with occasional recourse to force of arms, placed the bourgeoisie, already ex-nominating itself just as its champion François Guizot and its critic Karl Marx were naming it, in its culturally dominant position.

My approach was most deeply influenced by the historical anthropology of David Sabean; by two classic sociocultural histories of the middle class, *Family Fortunes* by Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall and *The Formation of the Parisian Bourgeoisie* by David Garrioch; and by studies of sociability by Maurice Agulhon, Pierre Chaline, and Carol Harrison.

Sabean's *Kinship in Neckarhausen*, a large village in southwest Germany, was the original catalyst for my focus on kinship and the general perspective just outlined. He shows that in the early eighteenth century (and long before), marriage usually occurred between people of somewhat unequal social and economic rank (giving economic or other advantage to one, a loyal clientele to the other). The crucial connections were through one's non-consanguineous in-laws.[22] Patriarchal authority was strongly upheld in property transfer and marital choice, and reinforced in naming practices. The family's patrimony (its properties, offices, and titles) was passed from generation to generation as intact as possible in a partible-inheritance legal system through complex succession practices privileging a single heir. By the early nineteenth

21. David Warren Sabean and Simon Teuscher, introduction to Sabean, Teuscher, and Mathieu, *Kinship in Europe*, 16. The timing of the shift varied from country to country and was not a singularly "bourgeois" phenomenon. But as first argued in the papers collected in *Kinship in Europe*, the Europe-wide trend in practice and discourse toward horizontal kinship structures and the depth of sibling-cousin affective bonds only came into their own from 1750 to 1850. See especially the general introduction by Sabean and Teuscher, from which I quote here. Three more collections produced by our *équipe* round out the picture: Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabean, eds., *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900* (New York, 2011); Christopher H. Johnson, David Warren Sabean, Simon Teuscher, and Francesca Trivellato, eds., *Transregional and Transnational Families in Europe and Beyond: Experiences since the Middle Ages* (New York, 2011); and Christopher H. Johnson, Bernhard Jussen, David Warren Sabean, and Simon Teuscher, eds., *Kinship and Blood: Representations from Ancient Times to the Present* (New York, 2013). For my contributions to this project, see Bibliographical Note 2.

22. This assertion is one of Sabean's most original contributions and is at odds with much historiography on the issue, especially for early modern France. But when the details of marriage partners with regard to assets, income, local political roles, genealogical histories, court proceedings, and other facts gleaned from Sabean's immense set of records are added, a much more nuanced picture emerges. Central was the establishment of a vast matrix of patron-client relationships that might last for generations in shifting variations. This changed in the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries toward more rigid social and consanguineous endogamy among the propertied elements of Neckarhausen. See Bibliographical Note 3 for studies by French historians with a similarly complex perspective on marriage choice.

century, trends had changed. Marriages were more status-equal and indeed often consanguineous, including the marriage of cousins. Families were thus reinforcing their social status, and strata within village society reproduced themselves ever more rigidly. One's siblings became more important in the choice of godparents, work partners, and sources of names for one's children, thus enhancing the role of uncles and aunts. Cousinship, reckoned extensively, became a crucial link as well as an important pool of marriage partners. Finally, there was a clear shift in the nature of "patriarchal" conflict (the indicator of how authority was being most strongly exerted) from father versus child to husband versus wife. What is clear from various perspectives is that a general process of "horizontalization" was occurring, breaking a broad range of vertical connections that existed in the past. Kinship changes had a direct relationship with class formation in an era of rapid economic development manifested in rural industry and commercial agriculture, and it was especially among the more substantial property holders—a kind of rural bourgeoisie—that the trend was most pronounced. What immediately struck me in this analysis was its similarity to my own (much less elaborate) study of the woolens manufacturers of Lodève in southern France—and the almost exact fit with the details of my reconstruction of the world of the Galles.[23]

Davidoff and Hall have found important links between bourgeois consanguineous kinship and class in early nineteenth-century England in their marvelous book *Family Fortunes*. They penetrate the ways in which their subjects construed familial relationships, the interior world of the middle classes, by extensive use of private family papers, and thus open a window on the taken-for-granted habitus (without using the term) of this bourgeoisie. My approach to the study of the Galles family and their world is to combine the long-term social-anthropological analysis of Sabean with the cultural depth of Davidoff and Hall to shine a light, through a wealth of detail about the lives of several generations of a family and their growing army of kinfolk, on the emergent ethos of the French bourgeoisie.[24]

Neither of the arguments regarding kinship and class is without historiographical controversy. The first—let us call it the "Sabean thesis"—has been substantiated in many works over recent decades.[25] The focus has largely been on the upper classes and the property-owning peasantry and less on France than on central Europe. Nevertheless, considerable evidence is now available to support these themes for early modern and eighteenth- and nineteenth-century France. The main question has to do with the nature of kinship during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth cen-

23. See Christopher H. Johnson, *The Life and Death of Industrial Languedoc, 1700–1920* (Oxford, 1995), chap. 3.

24. See David Warren Sabean, *Kinship in Neckarhausen, 1700–1870* (Cambridge, 1998), and its companion volume, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen, 1700–1870* (Cambridge, 1990); Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (Chicago, 1987).

25. See the works cited in note 21; also the classic works of Gérard Delille, *Famille et propriété dans la royaume de Naples (XVe–XIXe siècles)* (Rome, 1985); Élisabeth Clavarie and Pierre Lamaison, *L'impossible mariage: Violence et parenté en Gévaudan, XVIIe, XVIIIe et XIXe siècles* (Paris, 1982); and Martine Segalen, *Fifteen Generations of Bretons: Kinship and Society in Lower Brittany, 1720–1980*, trans. J. A. Underwood (Cambridge, 1991).

turies in the north of France, where customary law dictated equality of inheritance, seemingly making the continuity of a lineage and its patrimony problematic. But, as in Sabean's Neckarhausen, where partible inheritance was the rule, there were many ways to maintain such verticality despite the law.

Bernard Derouet has demonstrated conclusively that lineage maintenance, defense of the "house," and protection of the patrimony were the central concerns of peasant proprietors everywhere in early modern France no matter what the de jure rules for inheritance,[26] including the north. Here as well, peasant landowners did everything in their power to maintain the patrimony to avoid disastrously subdividing it. Even if a great deal of restructuring occurred, one son (or son-in-law) became the continuator of the line, the main bearer of the family's reputation, and the coordinator of its connections of patronage and clientage. Derouet insists that we must distinguish between inheritance and succession, with the latter being the real process of transmission from generation to generation. The moment of marriage in the next generation, often continuing patron-client links, was the actual point establishing succession. Derouet's notarial research establishes the "sociological truth" of kinship systems, which may well not correspond to their "juridical truth."[27] His arguments perfectly mirror Sabean's findings.

Ample studies of the nobility across early modern Europe, including France, attest to the power of lineages.[28] But my book deals with urban families rising from rural and urban middling status to bourgeois elite, and the question arises, especially for Brittany and lands of equal inheritance generally, whether established townsmen also operated within a kinship system oriented vertically. Fortunately, we now have good evidence that they did. Most important are studies by François-Joseph Ruggiu, who compares Amiens and Charleville with Canterbury and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and Mathieu Marraud on Paris. In elaborately detailed research, both found that their subjects of middling bourgeois status matched the high elites of their cities in their maintenance of the lineage model over generations—at least until the later eighteenth century, when economic and political forces gradually led to its abandonment. Ruggiu sums it up: "The family in the[se] milieux . . . is not simply a horizontal group organized around ego, his wife, his children, and [various contemporary relatives]. The individual was, in fact, immersed in a vertical group composed of the living but also the dead and persons to be born for several generations upstream and downstream."

26. See the excellent map in Suzanne Desan, *The Family on Trial in Revolutionary France* (Berkeley, 2004), 145.

27. Bernard Derouet, "Dowry," in Johnson and Sabean, *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship*, 44–45. Derouet is here summarizing his prodigious research. For his series of articles, see Bibliographical Note 4.

28. See the overview in the introduction (and citations) by Sabean and Teuscher in *Kinship in Europe*, 4–16, and articles therein by Karl-Heinz Spiess, Michaela Hohkamp, and Christophe Duhamelle. In Brittany, noble families had special dispensation from the rules of partibility, allowing them to pass on two-thirds of their inheritances to single heirs, thus maintaining vast estates for a small number of owners. This was similar to special rules for nobles in most of France's regions of de jure equality, ultimately making the end of primogeniture one of the main reforms demanded before the Revolution, which created a stringent law of equal inheritance for all that was incorporated into the Napoleonic Code.

Critically, one's identity is tied to one's family "origins, the determination to situate oneself in a line that will weigh upon one's heirs."[29] In Marraud's Parisian seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century merchant world, the same multigenerational sense of the family prevailed, to the point where one's independence of that weight was rare. Identity was forged "by the maintenance of anterior . . . attachments."[30]

By contrast, Julie Hardwick's close study of the *notaires* of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Rennes argued that they in fact adhered to the equal-inheritance letter of the law and posited a "horizontal" kin system built around cooperating siblings.[31] But she does not consider several questions central to proponents of the vertical lineage model. Though she says that it did not seem that one son was "advantaged," she does not examine, in the manner of Derouet, what happens to the patrimony, in this case the *étude*, the business, of the notary. Who gets it? She notes that a son-in-law might succeed, but there is no clear analysis of which *son* in the birth order generally took over the business as the patrimony was maintained and the name of the *étude* and the honor attached to it were retained over generations.[32] Exactly how were property holdings and venal offices held by the subjects distributed through marriage portions, and what occurred (e.g., restitution of earlier advances?) at the moment of the death of the patriarch? Marriage choice is not analyzed except for the professions of the partners' families, which seem socially endogamous in that respect, but neither the wealth and/or social position of the respective families nor their genetic connection (or lack thereof) is addressed—staples of the Sabean arguments about patronage and clientage. But there is one indicator of verticality, patronage, and perhaps dynastic thinking: a third of godparents were non-kin of higher social status, and when within the family, grandfathers' names were prominent choices for newborn boys.[33] In Sabean's findings for his "early modern" Cohort I (1700–1740), kin played a less important role, and practical considerations dominated. By the mid-nineteenth century, close kin of the couple (especially consanguines) dominated (80 percent) godparentage.[34] Hardwick nevertheless raises the possibility that the Breton customary law of strict equality of inheritance may have contributed to more sibling-based kin reckoning there than elsewhere, though among the early eighteenth-century Galles family,

29. François-Joseph Ruggiu, *L'individu et la famille dans les sociétés urbanes anglaise et française (1720–1780)* (Paris, 2007), 39–79, quote 71.

30. Mathieu Marraud, *De la ville à l'État: La bourgeoisie parisienne XVIIe–XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 2009), 69. Further corroboration of these perspectives may be found in Stephane Minvielle, *Dans l'intimité des familles bordelaises: Les élites et leurs comportements au XVIII siècle* (Bordeaux, 2009); and J.-P. Bardet, *Rouen aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles: Les mutations d'un espace social* (Paris, 1983).

31. Julie Hardwick, *The Practice of Patriarchy: Gender and the Politics of Household Authority in Early Modern France* (University Park, PA, 1998), 52–75, 143–93.

32. See also James Farr, *Hands of Honor: Artisans and Their World in Dijon, 1550–1650* (Ithaca, NY, 1988), 134–44.

33. Hardwick, *The Practice of Patriarchy*, 168–73. For a Europe-wide overview of the practices and meanings of godparentage, see Vincent Gourdon, Guido Afani, and Félix Castagnetti, eds., *Baptiser: Pratique sacrimentales, pratique social* (Paris, 2009).

34. Sabean, *Kinship in Neckarhausen*, 142–68, 238–60, 368–73. This is certainly the case within my families, where brothers and sisters of the parents are routinely chosen in the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

it was hardly harmonious. This would change dramatically in later generations, as we witness the emergence of horizontal kin reckoning based in what I call the "sibling archipelago."

The historiography of class is more fraught with issues. In the midst of the "linguistic-turn" storm over the bourgeoisie and class itself as a category of historical analysis, David Garrioch produced a thoughtful and nuanced socio*cultural* history of the central, beleaguered element buffeted by the winds: the Parisian bourgeoisie.[35] I think that it stands as the most convincing interpretation to date. Rooting his study in his exhaustive research into the capital's local history, he demonstrated that a profound change took place in the course of the eighteenth century in the world of the wealthier and well-positioned elements of Paris's commoner population, in which their leading roles as *Bourgeois de Paris* (an official title), citizen-soldiers of the militia, and other functions and honors shifted from their *quartiers* to the entire city. Various forces brought this about. Ironically, the monarchy's grand effort to divest cities and their bourgeois of past liberties and autonomous authority (held on a localized basis) opened the way to new offices and roles (often venal) that were citywide, and the vast local authority of certain ecclesiastical institutions was curtailed, to the benefit of "leading citizens." The city's economy boomed; population increased, especially among the better off; the economy did likewise, creating a growing entrepreneurial class. Concern about the maintenance of the family "lineage" within the narrow confines of the *quartier* gave way to a wider framework of family alliances as well as some consolidation through close marriage. An urban culture, outward-looking, overwhelmed the parochial as ideas floated in from everywhere. All of this is documented via Garrioch's own prodigious research and that of Daniel Roche and his students and colleagues ransacking the notarial records. The point: the foundations of a pan-Parisian bourgeoisie were forming, if not one with anything like a clear political consciousness.[36] But most in fact welcomed change, wrote so in their cahiers, got elected to assemblies, and glided into a revolutionary stance. As the Revolution unfolded, they became aghast at its excesses, embraced the Directory, and benefited from the Empire. During the Restoration, especially with the ultra-royalist, or Ultra, ascendancy following the assassination of the duc de Berry, a liberal, bourgeois political consciousness, especially among the new "generation of 1820," finally emerged.[37] The Revolution of 1830 was indeed their revolution (and many died), and the "Bour-

35. David Garrioch, *The Formation of the Parisian Bourgeoisie, 1690–1830* (Cambridge, MA, 1996). The introduction deals intelligently with the vast literature of the many controversies that marked the attack on the "social interpretation of the French Revolution," as it was labeled by Alfred Cobban, who began the attack in his book by that title in 1964.

36. Garrioch gives greater emphasis to this process of "integration," "the beginnings of a citywide bourgeoisie," in his later study *The Making of Revolutionary Paris* (Berkeley, 2002), chap. 10, and argues that the Revolution itself created a growing consciousness of larger loyalties and identities: "class and nation" in a context of "sharper social divisions" (318–19). The same tendencies, reflected particularly in the growing integration through citywide kinship ties, are emphasized by Marraud, *De la ville à l'État*.

37. Alan Spitzer's pathbreaking book *The French Generation of 1820* (Princeton, 1987) stressed the role of middle-class intellectuals born around 1800 in shaping the emerging political landscape of the later 1820s, both liberal and proto-socialist. Many recent studies have given greater substance to the evocation of a new bourgeois political and social consciousness. See Bibliographical Note 5.

geois Monarchy" theirs as well, rendering real political power, especially in local politics, if nationally it was socially narrow.[38] I would submit that this same process, with the same people (whether in business, the professions, or public service), occurred in most towns across France (it certainly did in Vannes, which tilted more toward royalism, if not of the late Bourbon sort) and that the July Monarchy saw the broad beginnings of a national, powerful bourgeoisie.[39]

Garrioch veered away from defining this bourgeoisie solely as "capitalists" (the heritage of nineteenth-century political economy), and most recent scholarship has taken a much broader view of what constitutes bourgeois status in France. One of the most fruitful avenues has been the study of sociability among the quite professionally diverse people (mostly men) who constitute the wealthy and socially prominent elites in towns and cities across France. Maurice Agulhon pioneered this approach, followed by many others, most notably Pierre Chaline in his work on learned societies and Catherine Pellissier in her deep study of Lyonnais bourgeois *sociabilité*.[40] It made a good deal of sense that the cooperative activities inherent in social clubs and civil society would form bonds of real significance in defining a cohesive group with a consciousness of their responsibilities and leadership roles in local society.

The most trenchant argument on behalf of this approach came from Carol Harrison in *The Bourgeois Citizen in Nineteenth-Century France: Gender, Sociability, and the Uses of Emulation*, a study of the elites of three (quite different) eastern French cities, Besançon, Mulhouse, and Lons le Saunier. Having emphasized the fact that both economic competition and political backbiting could be more divisive than unifying, she argued that work in learned societies and civic improvement organizations brought bourgeois together in contexts where emulation trumped competition—doing good works for the good of the community and validating their claims to power.[41] This is perfect "cultural history of the social." Reading Harrison's book stimulated me to write my second article based on my material from Vannes, in which I added the ingredi-

38. The central point, still valid, of Jean-André Tudesq's monumental *Les grands notables en France (1840–1849): Étude historique d'une pyschologie sociale* (Paris, 1964).

39. Certain provincial studies chart similar histories, with bourgeois leadership emerging in the later Restoration and coming to power with the July Monarchy—and staying there through later regimes. See Denise Davidson, *France after the Revolution: Urban Life, Gender, and the New Social Order* (Cambridge, MA, 2007), on the quite different worlds of Lyon and Nantes; Jean-Pierre Chaline, *Les bourgeois de Rouen: Une élite au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1982), especially his conclusion, "Ni Marx, ni Flaubert." See also Bibliographical Note 6.

40. Maurice Agulhon, *Le cercle dans la France bourgeoise* (Paris, 1977); Jean-Pierre Chaline, *Sociabilité et erudition: Les sociétés des savants en France, XIXe–XXe siècles* (Paris, 1982); Catherine Pellissier, *Loisirs et sociabilités des notables Lyonnais au XIXe siècle* (Lyon, 1995). See also the detailed study of Alain Pauquet, *La société et les relations sociales en Berry au milieu du XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1998), especially 383–446.

41. Carol Harrison, *The Bourgeois Citizen in Nineteenth-Century France: Gender, Sociability, and the Uses of Emulation* (Oxford, 1999), especially chap. 1, "Emulation: Class, Gender, and Context," 1–21. Also relevant here is Katherine Kete, *Making Way for Genius: The Aspiring Self in France from the Old Regime to the New* (New Haven, 2012). Stéphane Gerson's study *The Pride of Place: Local Memories and Political Culture in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, NY, 2003) provides a marvelous overview of the meanings of activities in local civic and learned organizations for the development of a relatively common identity among (mostly bourgeois) participants in cities across the nation. Their many conferences brought them together regionally and nationally.

ent of intermarriage and kinship to sociability and civic action to define the nature of bourgeois social cohesion and consciousness.[42] My bourgeoisie had no captains of industry and few of commerce (though the Galles were publishers, among other things); they included landowners, physicians, pharmacists, lawyers, architects, engineers, professors, and many state employees in the civil and military services. But in their *organizations* they were scientists, archaeologists, historians, literary critics, land reform and public health experts, town planners. They accomplished, led, and relished their contributions, which, not incidentally, opened the way to elected and appointive political office at all levels. Above all, perhaps, they were establishing, as Denise Davidson stressed, "bourgeois ideals" that were replacing aristocratic ones and claimed them as the ideals of the nation.[43] The bourgeoisie of Vannes was not a myth.

There is no reason to review the vast historiography that pitted "cultural history" and the "linguistic turn" against the reigning 1960s–1970s paradigm of Marxist social history and its images of the "Bourgeois Revolution" and inherent class destiny.[44] It moved, alas, from a reasoned debate—largely among practitioners of social history disillusioned by the essentialist assumptions of Marxist historiography and politics—to polemics asserting a new essentialism of language.[45] In my experience, the key works in the early moments of the clash came from Gareth Stedman Jones, William Sewell, and Jacques Rancière.[46] Here there was no effort to subvert the project of understanding the nature of class, modes of resistance, and even consciousness, but each sought, through the study of the language used by writers of working-class origin and their political goals, to show that the polemical attribution of a revolutionary consciousness rooted ultimately in the relations of production theorized by Marx at the time was hard to locate.

42. Johnson, "Kinship, Civil Society, and Power."

43. Davidson, *France after the Revolution*, 15.

44. For a thorough critique of the "functionalist reason" that underpins much of the social scientific paradigm inherited from the nineteenth century, see Jürgen Habermas, *Theory of Communicative Action*, vol. 2, trans. Thomas McCarthy (Boston, 1989), especially 301–403 for its Marxist variant; and Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*, trans. Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, MA, 1990), 60–82. See my discussion of this problem, "Lifeworld, System, and Communicative Action: The Habermasian Alternative in Social History," in *Rethinking Labor History*, ed. Lenard Berlanstein (Urbana, 1993), 55–89.

The story of the great confrontation in (largely) Anglophone European historiography is best told by Geoff Eley, one of the founders of *Social History* and an acolyte of the British Marxist historiographical tradition, in *The Crooked Path: From Cultural History to the History of Society* (Ann Arbor, 2005), in which he pronounces the social history of Thompson, Hobsbawm, Rudé, and Mason "dead," but now resuscitated by historians like Caroline Steedman, who always worked on the interface between social and cultural history ("between the two, there is no reason to choose" [181]). Her 2007 book *Master and Servant: Love and Labour in the English Industrial Age* (Cambridge) is a model of the revitalization of sociocultural history, using sources *du for privé* imaginatively as well as literary texts.

45. On the dangers of essentialism, see Caroline Steedman, *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History* (New Brunswick, NJ, 2002), which begins with an essay on Derrida's concept of the "mal d'archive," the mad search for origins and essences.

46. Gareth Stedman Jones, *The Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History, 1832–1982* (Cambridge, 1983); William Sewell, *Work and Revolution in France: The Language of Labor from the Old Regime to 1848* (Cambridge, 1980); and Jacques Rancière, *The Nights of Labor: The Workers' Dream in Nineteenth-Century France*, trans. John Drury (Philadelphia, 1989). Rancière and his group were particularly influential in France and for my own evolution. See Bibliographical Note 7.

Of the dozens of studies that flowed forth in the wake of Alfred Cobban's assault on the "social interpretation of the French Revolution," two stand out as classic examples of Roger Chartier's concept of writing the "cultural history of the social": his own *Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, which modestly sought "to pinpoint those [cultural] conditions that made [the Revolution] possible because it was conceivable"; and Lynn Hunt's *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution*, where she argues that the principal "cultural brokers"—especially teachers, liberal professionals, entrepreneurs, and *officiers*, more provincial than Parisian—"elaborated the political and cultural fabric of the Revolution and created the new semiotic system of republican and secular citizenship." Hunt shifted the ground away from the Marxist bourgeoisie "coming to power" to "a cultural or ideological revolution by which new social formations created a new political culture—democratic and social."[47] But the new revisionism had far to go, as the Revolution's nature was turned upside down through the analysis of its political and symbolic language shepherded by François Furet and Mona Ozouf,[48] and ending in the linguistic essentialism of works like Sara Maza's *Myth of the Bourgeoisie: An Essay in the Social Imaginary*, which was greeted by reviews registering bemusement,[49] outright dismissal (largely from France),[50] or measured critiques like that of David Bell, who argued that "a class does not define itself by the name it gives itself, but by its way of life," its habitus, thus calling for a "socio-cultural conception of the term class" and stressing, with Bourdieu, its relationship with the state.[51]

As it turns out, there has been a decided return to an interest in (and in some cases never a departure from) what is generally termed "sociocultural history," in which

47. Roger Chartier, *Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (1988; Durham, NC, 1991), 2; Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, 1984). On the latter, I quote Carla Hesse, "L'histoire sociale de la Révolution vue des USA," in *Vers un ordre bourgeois? Révolution française et changement social*, under the direction of Jean-Pierre Jessanne with the collaboration of Gérard Guyot, Hervé Leuwers, Philippe Minard, Matthieu de Oliveira, and Martine Aubry (Rennes, 2007), 63–76, quote 67–68. See, in addition, the influential studies of William Sewell, "Ideologies and Social Revolutions: Reflections on the French Case," *Journal of Modern History* 57, no. 1 (1985): 57–85, and *The Rhetoric of Bourgeois Revolution: Abbé Sièyes and "What Is the Third Estate?"* (Durham, NC, 1994); and especially his brilliant overview on this entire historiography, *The Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation* (Chicago, 2005).

48. The best (critical) overview of this process was Steven Kaplan's *Adieu 89* (Paris, 1993), published in English as *Farewell, Revolution* (which does not bear quite the same irony as the French) (Ithaca, NY, 1995). See also Colin Jones, "Bourgeois Revolution Revivified: 1789 and Social Change," in *Rewriting the French Revolution*, ed. Colin Lucas (Oxford, 1991), 69–118, and other articles in this fine volume published in the wake of the Bicentennial, which had occasioned Furet's pronouncement that the "Revolution is over." See also Gail Bossenga's local study with important national ramifications and a marvelous review of the central controversies of the seventies and eighties: *The Politics of Privilege: Old Regime and Revolution in Lille* (Cambridge, 1991).

49. For example, Jeremy Popkin in *H-France France Review* 4 (February 2004). See Sara Maza, *Myth of the Bourgeoisie: An Essay in the Social Imaginary, 1750–1850* (Cambridge, MA, 2003).

50. Summed up by Pierre Minard, "L'héritage historiographique," in Jessenne et al., *Vers un ordre bourgeois?* who remarks, "Ne retombons pas, en somme, fût-ce pour opérer une simple inversion, dans un schema cocon-chrysalide" (33).

51. David Bell, "Class Consciousness and the Fall of the Bourgeois Revolution," *Critical Review* 16, no. 3 (2004): 23–51.

class returns as *an* important variable and the bourgeoisie is rethought, especially in non-American historiography. Roger Chartier is probably the key influence in this return and undoubtedly the main proponent of the French style of cultural history, seen not only in his research but also in dozens of essays, prefaces, forewords, and afterwords. The best summation of his analytical journey may be found in *On the Edge of the Cliff*, which reprises his critiques and appreciations of most of the major players in the linguistic turn and other cultural historians, including Hayden White, Michel de Certeau, Michel Foucault, and Norbert Elias, in the end seeking "to get beyond the discontinuities that separate historical configurations," but more, to reestablish the discipline as a specific domain of knowledge, one "that is other than the one furnished by works of fiction" (a stab at White). But it means walking "along the edge of the cliff." The whole linguistic experience, argues Chartier, chastened historians "to question all they hold as evident and all they have inherited" (Paul Ricoeur's injunction), while nevertheless rejecting "the radical formulations of the American 'linguistic turn,' the dangerous reduction of the social world to a purely discursive construction and to pure language games." Instead, "one must insist forcefully that history is commanded by an intention and a principle of truth, that the past [that] history has taken as its object is a reality external to discourse, and that knowledge of it can be verified." Chartier reiterated this position in later works. For him "the cultural history of the social" provides the key avenue to that reality.[52]

Three recent historiographical collections illustrate the new trend, which is clearly affecting American historiography. The first, and most ambitious, is *Histoire culturelle: Un tournant mondial?* under the direction of Philippe Poirier (2007), which gathers a renowned international group of practitioners who work on the interface between social and cultural history in the spirit of Chartier (who provides an afterword) and report on their national trends. Poirier underlines the "singularity" of French cultural history in that it never wavered from a concern for the social and persistently avoided the extremes of the American linguistic turn. Edward Berenson reports from America that the cultural history of France seems to be veering away from "linguistic reductionism," ironically impelled by French philosophers, toward a new perspective that opens the door to social analysis and new ways of thinking about class.[53] Gabrielle

52. Roger Chartier, *The Edge of the Cliff: History, Language, and Practice*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Baltimore, 1997), 4, 8. Dena Goodman provides a delightful commentary on Chartier's conceptualization of how we must do our work: "Much as I believe that history is the study of texts and discourse, . . . I realized [while reading an extensive correspondence] that I had begun to care about people whom I knew only through texts. It was as if I had fallen off the cliff of practice and discourse into the sea of experience and emotion. Admitting that I wanted to know what happened to Sophie and her family meant acknowledging that I wanted to understand not just the practice of letter writing, but the lived experience of real human beings. Letters had led me over the cliff." Dena Goodman, "Old Media: Lessons from Letters," *French Historical Studies* 36, no. 1 (Winter 2013), 1–17, quote 17.

53. Edward Berenson, "Histoire culturelle in Amerique," in *Histoire culturelle:Un tournant mondial?*, ed. Philippe Poirier (Paris, 2007), 60–61. The beginning of this trend perhaps was Lynn Hunt and Victoria Bonnell, eds., *Beyond the Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture* (Berkeley, 1999). Many of the American studies from the first decade of the twenty-first century (cited elsewhere in this introduction) appear to be written in this spirit, and certainly that is the case with mine. My own perspective

Spiegel's edited volume of 2005 is a vigorous presentation of the promise of "practice theory," rooted in Bourdieu and de Certeau. In her introduction Spiegel argues that practice theory is liberating: "The accent it places on the historically generated and always contingent nature of structures of culture returns historiography to its age-old concern with processes, agents, change, and transformation, while demanding the kind of empirically grounded research into the particularities of social and cultural conditions with which historians are by training and tradition most comfortable."[54] This point dovetails nicely with those of Poirier and Berenson about the new "pragmatism" of the practice of cultural history in the wake of the linguistic turn.[55] The third, *Vers un ordre bourgeois?*[56] offers the general argument, originally made by Isser Woloch in *The New Régime*,[57] that the Revolution must be judged by what evolved in its wake, the coming of a "new social order" in which "the rules of the game that organize the field are in the process of changing."[58] The shift in emphasis, like the focus of Garrioch analyzed earlier, is therefore away from a bourgeois role in causation to one of participation in the revolutionary events and, most important, in the restructuring of institutions, politics, culture, private life, economic life, and society and the values and emotional outlook underpinning them.[59] As for the bourgeoisie as a class, Carla

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varied little throughout the controversies once I shed my own "mal d'archive," cultivated in an assiduous immersion in the theoretical battles of late Marxism in the seventies and found an anchor in the eighties in Habermas's *Theory of Communicative Action*, whose concepts of the "lifeworld" and the "ideal speech act" bore the marks of a new pragmatism. Many other social historians were in fact, like Steedman, sociocultural historians throughout producing monumental works of power and originality. Daniel Roche, Alain Corbin, Michelle Perrot, and Steven Kaplan are among my models, as are the greats like Bardet and Agulhon, cited earlier. A very powerful example of how social-history methodology and its blending with the history of art and artisanship could illuminate our understanding of class and social power and the sexual divisions of labor therein was Leora Auslander's *Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France* (Berkeley, 1996). Her notion of a "bourgeois stylistic regime" was quite important in my thinking about bourgeois culture.

54. Gabrielle M. Spiegel, introduction to *Practicing History: New Directions in Historical Writing after the Linguistic Turn* (New York, 2005), 1–31, quote 25.

55. Andreas Reckwitz noted this connection, citing Dewey, James, and Mead, and updated the work of others, in "Toward a Theory of Social Practices: A Development in Culturalist Theorizing," in Spiegel, *Practicing History*, 245–63, quote 261, n. 3. An excellent case study is Hardwick, *The Practice of Patriarchy*. Practice theory also overlaps significantly with theories of experience, which subvert the essentialism of language as well. See the important (and rarely cited in American historiography) collection of essays under the direction of Bernard Lepetit, *Les formes de l'experience: Une autre histoire sociale* (Paris, 1995), especially the two concluding articles by André Burguière, "Le changement social: Brève histoire d'un concept" (253–72), and Lepetit, "Le present de l'histoire" (273–97). See Denise Davison's insightful comments on "cultural practices and social spaces" in her introduction to *France after the Revolution*, 10–12.

56. See Jessanne et al., *Vers un ordre bourgeois?*.

57. Isser Woloch, *The New Regime: Transformations of the French Civic Order, 1789–1920s* (New York, 1994). See also Woloch, *Revolution and the Meaning of Freedom in the Nineteenth Century* (Stanford, 1996). R. R. Palmer follows the path toward moderate bourgeois liberalism in his last book, *From Jacobin to Liberal: Marc-Antoine Jullien, 1775–1848* (Princeton, 1993).

58. Minard, "L'héritage," 35.

59. Works dealing with the the shift in economic practices and outlook from corporatism to statist laissez-faire include Carla Hesse, *Publishing and Cultural Politics in Revolutionary France, 1789–1810* (Berkeley, 1991); Steven Kaplan, *La fin des corporations*, trans. Béatrice Vierne (Paris, 2001); Jeff Horn, *The Path Not Taken: French Industrialization, 1750–1830* (Cambridge, MA, 2006). In my reviews of the last two in *H-France Review* (1, no. 42 [November 2001], and 7, no.88 [July 2007]), I underlined this point.

Hesse, in her essay on trends in American historiography, concludes in words that could be my own: "The bourgeoisie enters history under diverse social appellations, in other words, it is a plural social phenomenon." Indeed we can perhaps even agree with Karl Marx: "The bourgeoisie is a class that defines itself only in its capacity to always be in constant transformation."[60]

Love, Interest, and the Sibling Archipelago

My second general argument in this book is to show how internal family love, often with incestuous undertones, underpins the new consanguineous kinship system and is a central factor in the life of the nineteenth-century bourgeoisie. Certainly love and family interests—consolidation of wealth, saving on dowries, and so on, themselves leading to the consolidation of class—intertwine, but this is a well-known theme in family and kinship studies.[61] The letters and personal journals that provide the backbone of this book, because of their unusually intimate nature, seem to reveal love to be the leading edge—especially in the formation of the new consanguinity, with all of its implications for class formation and the stabilization of political power—in the relationship between the two. The nature of family and conjugal love (which overlap significantly with close marriage) is different, at least among the more affluent and better educated, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries than it was in earlier times.

60. Hesse, "Histoire sociale," 72. Jonathan Sperber's 2012 biography of Marx, which takes Marx's journalism seriously, emphasizes his pragmatism and the variability of his assessment of many categories, especially class, which became rigidified in "Marxism" (*Karl Marx: A Nineteenth-Century Life* [New York]).

61. The intersection and conflicts between interest and emotion, between "marital strategies" and the desires of partners (as well as dozens of other intrafamilial permutations) pervade world literature and anthropological and historical scholarship. The first grand effort to problematize the relationship was in Hans Medick's and David Warren Sabean's 1984 collection of essays, *Interest and Emotion: Essays on the Study of Family and Kinship* (Cambridge), which included chapters by an international assemblage of historians and anthropologists on subject areas touching four continents, all of whom were (and are) leading scholars in their fields. Although the general weight of the argument is toward the side of interest, the main point is that the interaction between the two lies at the heart of understanding the dynamics of families and the structuring of kinship in any society. Of dozens of potential examples of historical scholarship grappling with the issue, six of the most enlightening for me have been Martine Segalen, *Love and Power in the Peasant Family: Rural France in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Sarah Matthews (Chicago, 1983); Tamara Hareven, *Family Time and Industrial Time: The Relationship between Family and Work in a New England Industrial Community* (Cambridge, 1982); Susan Glenn, *Daughters of the Shtetl: Life and Labor in the Immigrant Generation* (Ithaca, NY, 1990); Jean-Louis Flandrin, *Families in Former Times: Kinship, Household, and Sexuality*, trans. Richard Southern (Cambridge, 1979); Jonathan Spence, *The Death of Woman Wang* (New York, 1978); and Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (Chicago, 1987). They were also enlightening for my students in family history classes (for all were required reading over the years), in whose own families' histories (their main assignment) interest and emotion collided and colluded in fascinating and often heartrending ways. Two more recent studies (and more directly relevant here) with similar significance for my thinking on the subject are the case studies in Ruggiu, *L'individu et la famille*, and the overview of André Brugière, *Le mariage et l'amour en France de la Renaissance à la Révolution* (Paris, 2011). The latter confirms many aspects of the themes developed in my book, but here the most important section is chapter 9, "L'amour proche," which explores statistically the rise of consanguineous love and marriage in the eighteenth century and the human complexities of its emergence, seen especially in the most popular form of literary expression, the theater (251–71).

Patterns of affective behavior in the history of the Galles and their near kin reflect changes documented for France and much of western and central Europe. The first two generations of the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were formed through marriages that clearly reflected strategies of clientage and advancement, though some mutual attraction seems to be there as well. Tensions among relatives (including siblings) were real and disputes over wardship and inheritance patently evident. By the mid-eighteenth century, marriage remained a mixture of sentiment and interest, still with a good nod to the latter. As the letters become available after 1760, we can observe a marriage rather typical of the age, with effusive declarations of love both ways between Jean-Nicolas Galles and Jacquette Bertin, but also with evidence of a roving eye (and perhaps actual infidelity) on his part. Parent-child relationships combine high expectations with considerable loving reinforcement along with provision of excellent educations. Obvious warmth punctuates the dense correspondence between uncle Jean-Nicolas and nephew Jean-Marie, his agent in Paris. Jean-Marie also has a Parisian love affair that does not pan out: because of family opposition or the fading of sentiment? Or both? But he is very opinionated (and unsentimental) on the subject of his *cousine*'s marriage to a printer of Lorient, branding it a good match. It wasn't. Though he never married himself, his generation's marriages were perfectly equal in wealth and status, but still well outside the Catholic definition of incest. Evidence of strong, if complicated, physical attraction is there as well, at least for the partners in the famous dual wedding of 1787, at the high tide of hyper-sentimentality.[62] The love affair between Romantic Marc Galles and Adelaïde Jollivet is transparently obvious and produced six offspring in twelve years. So too with René Jollivet and his two wives during the same revolutionary years. The heat of conjugal love now began to generate the heat of intense sibling love (or was it vice versa?), already evident, though accompanied by important concerns from Adelaïde about brother René's career decisions, raised in a precious letter of 1796. Interest remained.

Their children's generation, coming of age during the Empire, moved into a different register, now expressed in a flood of intrafamilial letters. Sibling love flowed everywhere; marriages were "arranged," one might say, by siblings for siblings. In other words, cousin marriage became rampant and only increased in the next generation. The evidence is in the letters, which make the case. There are no forms here to follow. There may be some sort of a *pacte familiale*, but it is nothing like the discreet and "reserved" networks of Dauphin and colleagues or Caroline Chotard-Loiret.[63]

The context of this history is represented in an abundant literature on the revolution in kinship and familial relationships (and their emotional infrastructure) that accompanied the political and economic revolutions of this age. This revolution comprised three essential elements.

First, patriarchal authority of the older sort—the dominance of fathers over children, the centrality of patrilineal descent, and the rule of husbands over their wives in their capacity as fathers, all enhanced by the state-promoted notion of the family

62. See William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge, 2001), 164–72.

63. See notes 7 and 11.

as "the little monarchy"—gave way to an authority understood as rule of the husband and the strength of the bond between brothers. Carole Pateman, in her pioneering book *The Sexual Contract*, neatly sums it up as a shift from "father-right" to "husband-right."[64] Lynn Hunt provides us with the searing image of the French Revolution as the triumph of the "band of brothers" in the Freudian "family romance": having murdered the weakened father, they assuage their guilt by blaming the trauma on the mother and punishing the sisters who dared to take up arms and participate in fraternity.[65] Monarchy would never be the same again, nor would the family. In France and everywhere influenced by the Napoleonic Code, the most visible legal consequences were mandatory equal inheritance among all children, coupled with the status of the wife (who as daughter/sister brought her inheritance into the marriage) as a legal and fiscal minor in relation to her husband.

The key change in patriarchy was thus the dethroning of the father, who now must be "good" to be effective. If we are to believe Stéphanie de Genlis and Jane Austen, such fathers seek the happiness of their children and are repaid, especially by the daughters, with love and care; the evil father is he, such as General Tilney in *Northanger Abbey*, who continues to rule like the patriarch of old. Vincent Gourdon added another dimension to the argument in his detailed research on grandparents, showing that the image of the stern patriarch of the seventeenth century gave way in the course of the eighteenth (and became fully articulated in the nineteenth) to "the triumph of the image of the *grand-parent 'gâteau*,'" the benevolent, gift-bearing, and beloved *aïeul(le)* still strong in the contemporary French imaginary. Gourdon links this with the emergence of "bourgeois society" and stresses that writers and memoirists of the new elite of the nineteenth century were virtually unanimous in praising "the excellence of the *grand-parents de la bourgeoisie*," while contrasting them with visions of the elders of the aristocracy and the popular classes.[66]

64. Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford, 1988). See also Joan Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, NY, 1988). On the eighteenth-century revolt against father-right, see, among many, Yves Castin, "Arbitraire du droit de tester et révolte des fils en Languedoc au XVIIIe siècle," in *Le modèle familial européen: Normes, déviances, contrôle du pouvoir* (Rome, 1986), 165–74; Maurice Daumas, *Le syndrome des Grieux: La relation père/fils au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1990), and *L'affaire d'Esclans: Les conflits familiaux au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1988); Arlette Farge and Michel Foucault, eds., *Le désordre des familles: Lettres de cachet des Archives de la Bastille* (Paris, 1982); Margaret Darrow, *Revolution in the House: Family, Class, and Inheritance in Southern France, 1775–1825* (Princeton, 1989).

65. Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley, 1992).

66. Vincent Gourdon, *Histoire des grands-parents* (Paris, 2001), 289–91; Hunt, *Family Romance*, chap. 6; François Ronsin, *Le contrat sentimental: Débats sur le mariage, l'amour, le divorce, de l'Ancien Régime à la Restauration* (Paris, 1990); Isabel Hull, *Sexuality, State, and Civil Society in Germany, 1700–1815* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1996), chap. 10; Dominique Godineau, *The Women of Paris and Their French Revolution*, trans. Katherine Streip (Berkeley, 1998); Sara Melzer and Leslie Rabine, eds., *Rebel Daughters: Women and the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1992). The works of Stéphanie de Genlis (always cited as Madame de Genlis) of the greatest relevance are *Les petits émigrés*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1798), and *Alphonse et Dalinde* (in *Contes choisis des veillées du château* [London, 1828], 124–300); the best biography is Gabriel de Broglie, *Madame de Genlis* (Paris, 2001). Three more recent books on the impact on the family of the Revolution largely confirm this image of the transformation of patriarchy, though all have much more to say about the multiple changes in familial relations brought about by the revolutionary legislation and the emergent political culture: Desan, *The Family on Trial*; Jennifer Ngaire Heuer, *The Family and the Nation: Gender and Citizenship in Revolutionary France, 1789–1830* (Ithaca, NY, 2005); and Anne Verjus, *Le bon mari: Une histoire politique des hommes et des femmes à lépoque révolutionnaire* (Paris, 2010).

The second element of the family revolution was thus the revolution of sentiment, and, more deeply, of the emotions, a process charted in dozens of studies and documented well back into the seventeenth century. It meant the greater valuation of love for children whatever their birth order or gender, the importance of affection as a precondition for marriage and of marital harmony and partnership, the significance of male sensibility in general, attacks on the double standard with regard to sexual behavior, the free expression of emotions and their endless analysis, and the representation of the thinking and feeling subject, of the individual self with inherent rights to autonomy—all captured as well in a revolution in literature, the rise of the novel, also an important source for understanding this change.[67] Although much of the earlier work on this phenomenon was crafted by cultural critics or historians focusing on literary sources and memoirs, the more recent articulation of an increasingly vibrant field, "the history of emotions," has added an enormous dimension and potentially created an entire new category of analysis to complement (and challenge) operative categories such as class, ethnicity/race, and gender.[68] William Reddy's pathbreaking book *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* explores the processes of the revolution in sentiment and its aftermath (1700–1850) with unparalleled insight and connects it with the grand political events of the age. Sentimentalism reached a fever pitch in the 1780s, seen everywhere, but principally in Paris, where it counted the most, in literature, theater, art, music, in the courts and the public ravings of lawyers, on the streets, in letters, and in autobiographies, with Diderot perhaps the star of the show. Reddy shows how this overheated atmosphere fed into the revolutionary drama. Not disagreeing with Hunt, he follows the emotion-packed discourse of revolutionaries to the inevitable explosion of the Terror, whose apotheosis leaves an emotionally drained France, seeking refuge in order, military power, and prestige. Although sentimentalism did not disappear, especially within the conjugal/familial interiors, a new public (male) face emerged in the nineteenth century, where concepts of honor, probity, moderation, flexibility, and emulation came to dominate the emotional mien of the nation.[69] Although Reddy does not pursue the class dimensions of this new emotional regime, most of the voices he cites are those of men, largely from non-noble backgrounds, whose education, wealth, family connections, and talent open the way to leadership in civil society, politics, and administration of the new polity that emerged after 1830, many having also played critical roles in the revolu-

67. See Bibliographical Note 8. Central to my thinking have been Jean-Louis Flandrin, *Families in Former Times: Kinship, Household, and Sexuality*, trans. Richard Southern (Cambridge, 1979); J. G. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago, 1992); Maurice Daumas, *La tendresse amoureuse* (Paris, 1998); Gabrielle Houbre, *Le discipline de l'amour: L'éducation sentimentale des filles et des garçons à l'âge du romanticisme* (Paris, 1997); and Anne Verjus and Denise Davidson, *Le roman conjugale: Chroniques de la vie familiale à l´époque de la Révolution et l'Empire* (Seyssel, 2011).

68. This trend is foregrounded in Nicole Eustace, Eugenia Lean, Julie Livingston, Jan Plamper, William M. Reddy, and Barbara Rosenwein, "AHR Conversation: The Historical Study of the Emotions," *American Historical Review* 117, no. 5 (2012): 1487–1531.

69. William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge, 2001), 141–256. On the similar relationship between emotion and politics in colonial America, see Nicole Eustace, *Passion in the Gale: Emotion, Power, and the Coming of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, 2008).

tionary transition itself.[70] And indeed, Reddy perfectly describes the emotional journey reflected in the experiences of my *bourgeois de Vannes*. It also seems reasonable to postulate that the emotional bonds forged within the various forms of sociability and civic action among the elites studied by Agulhon, Chaline, Harrison, and Pellissier firmed up class cohesion and indeed may allow us to embrace the applicability of the concept of class as an "emotional community," the powerful notion developed by the medievalist Barbara Rosenwein.[71]

The third element was the revolution in marriage and kinship. As argued earlier in this introduction, the key development here was the shift in marriage patterns from partners who were unrelated by blood and often of somewhat unequal economic (if not social) status to consanguineous partners from similar economic circumstances. Cousin marriage thus became common. Sabean, spurred by his discoveries for Neckarhausen, also found such patterns among the German bourgeoisie. Gérard Delille has made a similar analysis of the kingdom of Naples, and the significance of cousin marriage in the nineteenth century can be noted widely in the West (except where it was expressly forbidden by law, as in most of the United States). Adam Kuper has shown large segments of the English intellectual elite of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to be thoroughly intertwined by ties of consanguineous kinship, a reality making their impact on society all the more profound.[72] Work in French family history and demography strongly suggests that the same trend was prevalent there as well.[73] Although marriage continued to occur between non-consanguines, the role of siblings, cousins, and uncles and aunts in facilitating courtship and guiding appropriate partners together was paramount even when this was the case. Overall, we are looking at a new kinship regime whose connections are horizontally extensive, following outward lines across a generation or two rather than the older vertical reckoning by lineal descent. I have labeled this the sibling archipelago. At the heart of it is the brother-sister dyad, for the children of siblings are of course cousins, their grandchildren second cousins. Without the warmth of brother-sister (as well as brother-brother

70. Reddy, *Navigation of Feeling*, 215–16.

71. Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middles Ages* (Ithaca, NY, 2006).

72. Sabean, *Kinship in Neckarhausen*, 449–89; Delille, *Famille et propriété dans le royaume de Naples*; Randolph Trumbach, ed., *The Marriage Prohibition Controversy* (New York, 1985); Martin Ottenheimer, *Forbidden Relatives: The American Myth of Cousin Marriage* (Urbana, 1996) (with an important bibliography); Adam Kuper, *Incest and Influence: The Private Life of Bourgeois England* (Cambridge, MA, 2009).

73. The pioneers in analyzing this trend were Jean-Marie Gouesse, "Mariages des proches parents (XVIe–XXe siècles): Esqisse d'une conjoncture," in *Le modèle familial européen: Normes, deviance, contrôle de pouvoir* (Rome, 1986), 31–61; and André Burguière, "Cher cousin: Les usages matrimoniales de la parenté dans la France du XVIIIe siècle," *Annales E.S.C.* (1997), 1339–60. More recent (and thorough) overviews of the process are Stéphane Minvielle, "La tentation du repli sur soi," chap. 3 of *La famille en France à l'époque moderne* (Paris, 2010), 182–202; and André Brugière, "L'amour proche," chap. 9 of *Le mariage et l'amour en France*, 251–71. The most detailed work, and one that parallels Sabean's, is Guy Tassin's exemplary village study *Qui épouser et comment: Alliances récurrentes à Haveluy de 1701 à 1870* (Paris, 2007) (with a preface by Françoise Héritier), where "actual consanguinity" as it develops rapidly over the much of the period studied is often masked by practices of *bouclage* and *rechaînement*, even though the incidence of direct first- and second-cousin marriage was relatively small (around 15 percent in the fist half of the nineteenth century). See also Tassin's *Mariages, ménages au XVIIIe siècle: Alliances et parentés à Haveluy* (Paris, 2001). Haveluy is located in the Nord.

and sister-sister) relationships, a consanguineous marriage system would be most unlikely. Close siblings made for close marriages. As Adèle Jollivet Galles wrote to her son in his first days at boarding school in 1829, "Always remember who are those closest to you: your brother and sister, your cousins, and your aunts and uncles."[74]

Binding the sibling archipelago was a revolution in sexuality. Michel Foucault identified an essential reality of the revolutionary age. Working mainly with literary sources, he argues that the eighteenth century saw a momentous transformation in Western societies in which a "new apparatus," sexuality, was "deployed" under the impulsion of "economic processes and political structures" that could no longer rely on the system of "alliance," which had served to regulate "relations of sex" via rules of marriage and kinship set by church and state to maintain a relative "homeostasis of the social body." The nuclear family became the crucible of sexuality, extolling its pleasures and bearing its burdens. "Its role was to anchor sexuality and provide it with a permanent support." *Alliance* and its elements hardly disappeared, but the nature of its regulation shifted. "The deployment of alliance is built around a system of rules defining the permitted and the forbidden, the licit and the illicit, whereas the deployment of sexuality operates according to mobile, polymorphous, and contingent techniques of power." For Foucault, these techniques developed over the nineteenth century by way of the "psychologization" and the "psychiatrization" of sexuality, culminating in Charcot and Freud, who effectively revitalized the system of alliance by "discovering" the rules of sexuality and defining as "normal" the male-centered heterosexual nuclear family which overcame ominous "complexes" via psychoanalysis.[75]

But the interesting hypothesis, which Foucault does not focus on, is that the era in which sexuality with its various manifestations—libertinage, romantic love, the rise of the couple, familial intimacy, sensibility, and a fascination with "perversions"—came to be "deployed" in Western culture was also one in which the new techniques of power were in their *infancy*. Instead, *de*regulation of the family was the rule, and literature, art, music, and philosophy everywhere reflected a vortex of emotions liberated from the previous system. Sade obviously represented the extreme, but no theme of sexuality and emotional introspection was beyond exploration.[76] Internal family life was minutely dissected, laying bare the joys and tensions, the conflicts between the young harbingers of the new regime and the defenders of the old, and all the rest. Central to this discourse was incest. Foucault makes perhaps his most telling point when he writes: "Since the eighteenth century, the family has become an obligatory

74. Adèle Jollivet Galles to René Galles, September 25, 1829, ADM, 2 J 80 (1). On my notion of the sibling archipelago, see Christopher H. Johnson, "Die Geschwister Archipel: Bruder-Schwester-Liebe und Klassenformation in Frankreich des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Die Liebe des Geschwister*, ed. Karin Hausen and Regina Schulte, special issue of *L'Homme: Zeitschrift für Feministische Geschichtswissenschaft* 13 (2003): 50–67; and "Siblinghood and the Emotional Dimensions of the New Kinship System, 1800–1850: A French Example," in Johnson and Sabean, *Sibling Relations*, 189–220. There was always a potential for conflict, of course, given the new inheritance regime. See above all Desan, *The Family on Trial*, chap. 4. For a deeper historiographical discussion, see Bibliographical Note 9.

75. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York, 1990), 105–7.

76. This is well-known territory. See Bibliographical Note 10.

locus of affects, feelings, love; [and] for this reason sexuality is 'incestuous' from the start; . . . [incest] is constantly being solicited and refused; it is an object of obsession and attraction; a dreadful secret and a pivot. It is manifested as a thing that is strictly forbidden in the family insofar as it functions as a deployment of alliance; but it is also a thing that is continuously demanded in order for the family to be a hotbed of constant sexual enticement."[77] Foucault was referring to the entire sweep of modern history, but at no time was all this truer than in the revolutionary age. He also pays no attention to the *type* of incest rising to prominence in specific historical eras. But the discourse of this same period privileged the brother-sister relationship in an unprecedented manner, supplanting the classic intergenerational themes of the seventeenth century.[78] At the same time, a highly charged, sexualized bond of militaristic fraternity pervaded the language of politics: love of brothers and love of nation became conflated.[79] Added together, then, the unprecedented intensity of siblinghood in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries corresponded directly with the advent of Foucault's "sexuality" and operated more or less "freely" before being reined in by the disciplinary powers of modern science.

It was thus in the fertile soil of sibling emotions that the new family and kinship regime of the nineteenth century took root. Here was where love was kindled and defined. Most tellingly, a sister, Aimée Galles, summed it up in writing her to brother Eugène of the love between him and their cousin (and foster sister) at the moment of their engagement in August 1817: "The affection you have one for the other with Adèle cannot be extinguished, as often happens in *mariages d'inclination* [love matches], since it does not go back only a few years, but all your lives. Accustomed from your childhood to your *chérie* as a sister and she loving you as a brother, you have contracted an affection that will die only with life itself."[80]

Gender

Finally, this book and these materials provide an opportunity to make a fine-grained assessment of the play of gender in the linked processes scripted in its title. The most important aspect of the evidence that I am working with is the very prominent place

77. Foucault, *Sexuality*, 108–9. Ellen Pollak, *Incest and the English Novel, 1684–1814* (Baltimore, 2003), 11–17, provides an excellent commentary on this concept.

78. The enormous controversy that swirled around Racine's *Phèdre*, first presented in 1677 (including Jacques Pradon's counter-play *Hippolyte*, produced at the same time), symbolizes the preoccupation with intergenerational incest at the time. David Sabean, "Inzestdiskurse vom Barock bis zur Romantik," *L'Homme: Zeitschrift für feministische Geschichtswissenschaft* 13, no. 1 (2002): 7–28, puts the entire transition in perspective. Jean Racine, *Phèdre*, ed. and with a preface by Raymond Picard (Paris, 2000); Roland Barthes, *Sur Racine* (Paris, 1983), 115–22.

79. No one deals with this theme better than Lynn Hunt, *Family Romance*, chap. 3.

80. Aimé Galles to Eugène Galles, August 29, 1817, ADM, 2 J 79. There is a moment in the journal of Auguste Duméril, who is soon to marry his *cousine* Eugénie (after some travail), where he speaks of the "lottery" of arranged marriages or short-term relationships, and both he and she, in correspondence, extoll the security and pleasure of attachments "that can only consolidate over time." Cécile Dauphin and Danièle Poublan, "De l'amour au mariage: Une correspondance familiale au XIXe siècle," *Liens familiaux, Clio: Histoire, Femmes et Sociétés* 34 (2011): 129.

of women in this correspondence as authors, not just recipients or subjects of discussion. Some two-thirds of the letters are penned by women, and all of them with virtually perfect grammar and orthography, whether from the eighteenth or nineteenth century.[81] Moreover, I am blessed with back-and-forth exchanges of letters over fairly extended periods of time, which allows not only for narrative drama but also for assessing the "persona constructed" by each party.[82]

The lives and work of the women of this story played out on a terrain of destabilizing gender relationships that accompanied the transformations just discussed. Perhaps no era until our own saw challenges to prior verities about the place of women in the fabric of society or their impact on social change more profoundly registered. The work of at least two generations of historians in teasing out the multiple strands of this reality is creating an entirely new picture of the emergence of the modern age. Joan Wallach Scott summarized what was occurring at its pivotal moment in her centennial address at the 1985 American Historical Association meeting in Chicago. Essentially, all history had to be rewritten when viewed through the lens of gender. And the struggle to do so was deeply political: history written as a history of men, whatever the methodological or ideological perspective, left, center, or right, not only got it wrong but also served to maintain the unequal status of one-half of humanity. History rethought to include the other half would be not just new but true (as closely as that ideal can ever be realized). In the case of the revolutionary century, Scott's main research area at the time, the vexed history of women's rights and social status ended in a thicket of "paradoxes," in which progress was generally trumped, as many others already cited argue, by a public sphere that swung toward new forms of patriarchy.[83]

In the private sphere, however, despite "brother/husband right," bourgeois women made powerful contributions that, as I argue, were central to the ascent of their class. In the first place, we will see them regularly on the borderlands between public and private, blurring the distinction. Widows will run businesses, often with greater success than their departed husbands.[84] Women will open the pathways to the seats of

81. See Bibliographical Note 11 on this issue.

82. See note 13.

83. Under the modest title of "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," Scott's address was subsequently published, much expanded, in the *American Historical Review* and served as the anchor of her *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, 1988), in which she fully made the case for a feminist history, first examining how our conceptualization of class would be profoundly altered by the inclusion of women (in critiques of the work on the languages of class by Gareth Stedman Jones and of E. P. Thompson's *Making of the English Working Class*), and then a series of her own studies significantly revising previous research (including my own) or taking on received knowledge about familiar topics and seeing them in a completely new light by applying gender analysis. Her influence everywhere has been profound and will be obvious throughout this book as well. For her perspectives on the trials of French feminists, see Joan Wallach Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man* (Cambridge MA, 1996). For a wonderful overview of what history would look like with women written in and a standard, like Scott's, for the next generation, see Bonnie Smith, *Changing Lives: Women in European History since 1700* (Lexington, MA, 1989).

84. See the contributions of Janine Lanza, *From Wives to Widows in Early Modern Paris: Gender, Economy and Law* (Aldershot, 2008); Daryl Hafter, *Women at Work in Preindustrial France* (University Park, PA, 2008), especially 239–42; and Scarlett Beauvalet-Boutouyrie, *Être veuve sous l'ancien régime* (Paris, 2001), 271–310.

power by virtue of their social connections. They will serve the political interests of their men in a wide variety of ways, from hosting social gatherings to political reporting and analysis. Many will "stand in" (to use Gerda Lerner's useful term) for husbands who are away, mainly on business and in the military, not just running their households but as their family's local representatives in public.[85] But above all, it was their myriad activities in the decidedly private sphere of family and kinship that most advanced the public status and power of these bourgeois. They created the contexts in which courtship could flourish. They researched the suitability of potential spouses (though many were well known because they came from within extended families). They saw to the complicated process of establishing appropriate dowries and grooms' contributions. They suggested witnesses and made up guest lists for weddings, fundamental to the further outreach of social connection. In short, they did the groundwork of creating the grids of kinship that I argue are critical to the making of the bourgeoisie. And beyond, it was largely the work of women to forge the connections, through balls and soirées, that linked their men to others who could advance their interests. They also intervened directly to garner favor on behalf of a brother, husband, son, or nephew from contacts that they alone had created. As we shall see, the master of this process was aunt Marie Jollivet Le Ridant, who parlayed her close ties with the Bourbon royal family into places, promotions, and general social recognition for the men of "her own." It goes without saying that this female power was largely indirect, and no case will be made in this book that it was "liberating." But it was real, and bourgeois ascent owed much to it.[86]

The history of the Galles illustrates all of these themes in detail. But this book, whatever it might add to our understanding of bourgeois class formation and the role of

85. See Gerda Lerner, "The Stand-In Wife," chap. 3 in *The Creation of Patriarchy* (Oxford, 1986). This was certainly the case within families, military or commercial, where the husband spent long periods away. Of many examples, see Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*, trans. Robert Baldock (New York, 1962); Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven, 2009); and Alain Corbin, *Archaïsme et modernité en Limousin au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1975). Christine Adams provides fascinating examples of the "sister-spouse" who plays this role for absent brothers in "Devoted Companions or Surrogate Spouses? Sibling Relations in Eighteenth-Century France," in *Visions and Revisions in Eighteenth-Century France*, ed. Christine Adams, Jack R. Censer, and Lisa Jane Graham (University Park, PA, 1997), 59–76. There are also many instances arising in families where the husband is *not* away but involved in other work or dissolution, in which the wife commands the household and/or alternative business or profession. See Arlette Farge, *Le vie fragile: Violence, pouvoirs et solidarités à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1986), 80–117; my own research in Série Y (Archives nationales) on family conflict in eighteenth-century Paris (not yet published) turned up many examples of this phenomenon.

86. No one, perhaps, has written more perceptively about the contradictions of being bourgeois and female in nineteenth-century France than Bonnie G. Smith in *Ladies of the Leisure Class: The Bourgeoises of Northern France in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, 1981). It is interesting that in the earlier nineteenth century, charitable activities, one of the key roles emphasized by Smith for a later period, were much less in evidence among the bourgeoises of Vannes. On the role of bourgeois women (mother and daughter/sister) before the Revolution, see Adams, *A Taste for Comfort and Status*. François-Joseph Ruggiu dedicates an entire part of his massive study *L'individu et la famille dans les sociétés urbaines anglaises et françaises*, to "La place des femmes" (217–306), touching on many aspects of women's varied roles within and beyond the family in the eighteenth century.

kinship and the attendant complexities of gender in the processes of modernization, however it might stretch the parameters of social and cultural theory, is above all a *story*: a story of people—despite their politics, their religious beliefs, their social values, and the expectations they load on their children (all of which differ from my own)—for whom, in the language of the age, I feel a genuine *tendresse*.

CHAPTER ONE

The Way of Print

We do not know for certain how Noel Galles made his way to Caen or even the date of his arrival. Family tradition has it that his people came from Wales, following ancient migratory patterns, and hence the name. Although Noel, as a journeyman printer, worked in a French-speaking environment, he still named his last son Ian, and so may have spoken Welsh at home. But his three sons who married all changed their given names to French spellings and wed women with French surnames whose fathers were in urban trades. A fourth became a priest, a source of pride for this strongly Catholic family. This itself may have been a factor in the original emigration. But enough guesswork.[1]

Talent and Marriage

For Ian Galles, and for us, the beginning is the day he arrived in Vannes to take up an apprenticeship with Jessé Robert, the scion of a printing house long established in the city. The precise date of his move is in doubt, for his contract of apprenticeship has been lost. His baptism at Caen, however, was recorded on December 18, 1644. René Kerviler is clearly incorrect in his claim (in the *Bio-Bibliographie bretonne*) that Ian arrived and married in 1652, although it is conceivable that he began his apprenticeship then. In any case, he fulfilled the dream of many an itinerant craftsman when, at the age of twenty-five, he married his master's daughter (and only living child) and was received as *maitre-imprimeur-libraire* immediately, as his father-in-law ceded his boutique. The parish register of Saint-Mené, dated February 4, 1670, reveals little except the solidly literate signatures of both Galles and Marie Robert (reinforcing the fact that they were both designated "honorable"), and one witness, Jan Le Dreyo, whose family name, in various spellings, appears on many future documents in the history of the Galles. In the first of several similar marriages in this family, Jean Galles, Sieur du Clos (as he was now called), and his new affines had practiced a strategy quite typical of old regime kinship construction: unequal marriage within a circumscribed status domain in which the assets and establishment of a "patron" unite with the talent and

1. Sources for the earliest history of the Galles in France are virtually nonexistent. Louis Galles assembled what he could in preparing genealogies for the collection that would become the Fonds Galles. See ADM, 2 J 71.

ambition of a "client" to produce greater power for the former and socioeconomic ascent for the latter.[2]

It would also appear that Jean's ambitions were assisted by the power of love, for the couple's firstborn arrived a scant four months after their nuptials. They may have simply followed the not unusual practice of considering the date of their engagement the moment when courtship ended and love began, thereby providing a slightly different scenario. In either case, familiarity, opportunity, and interest coincided to produce the happy consequence. Christophle Galles entered a life in 1670 that would be even more fortunate than his father's.[3]

The winds of religion and politics blew favorably for the Jean Galles enterprise. The regionally famous Collège des Jésuites required textbooks, catechisms, and other printing services, and Galles acquired the contract. Whether Pierre, his brother the priest at Sainte-Paix near Caen, had any influence is hard to say, though it is clear that Pierre spent much time in Vannes and was close to Jean's family. More important for their future was the forced return of the Parlement de Bretagne to Vannes in 1675 during the repression following the popular tax revolt known as the Bonnets rouges movement in and around Rennes.[4] Four master printers operated in Vannes at this time: Vincent Doriou, who had "very deep roots" in the city; Nicolas Audran, who had worked for Doriou before setting up on his own in 1664; and François Maryaud, who shared with the Sieur du Clos the huge increase in demand. Jean Galles, ever the entrepreneur, decided to open a second boutique in 1681. His initiative employed the dowry from his second marriage, to Olive Buor, for Marie Robert died in 1680, leaving behind four small children. But it did not sit well with his peers, who petitioned the *sénéschal* in July 1681, noting that already "by two different ordinances you have forbidden Jean Galles *dit* du Clos, Printer and Bookseller, from having more than one shop in this city and *faubourg* . . . under threat of a 300 livre fine." But now, "with express contempt for all your ordinances and summons, he maintains with impunity an open shop, which he claims is only his storehouse [*magasin*], from which he sells and retails daily." They invited the official to go see for himself. He did not bother, but immediately requested an order from the judiciary to shut the renegade outlet down. Policing the trades was one of the principal preoccupations of old regime officialdom, as the endless files of the presidial courts in the provinces and of the Châtelet in Paris testify. Maintaining "order in the *corps d'états*" meant keeping excessive ambition at

2. René Kerviler, *Répertoire général de bio-bibliographie bretonne* (Rennes, 1904, repr., 1978), s.v. "Galles"; Jacques-Louis Ménétra (who married a widow under similar circumstances), *Journal of My Life*, with an introduction and commentary by Daniel Roche, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York, 1986); ADM, 2 J 71; Georges Lepeux, *Gallia typographique ou Répertoire biographique . . . de tous les imprimeurs de France*, vol. 4 (Paris, 1914), s.v. "Vannes—Jean Galles." On the practices of early modern marriage, see the introduction to this book, especially note 22.

3. EcVannes, microfilm (mariages, baptêmes 1670), ADM; François Lebrun, *La vie conjugale sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris, 1985), 85–109. Christophle's name is sometimes spelled without the "l" in various documents, but here and in his reception as master in 1685, this is the spelling and is assumed correct. ADM, B 1359 (Recéptions des maîtres d'imprimérie).

4. Jean Meyer, *La noblesse de la Bretagne au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1972), 47–52; François Bluche, *Louis XIV*, trans. Mark Greengrass (New York, 1990), 203–4.

bay. Indeed, instead of allowing one printer to expand, the Présidial licensed yet another master in 1683, one Guillaume Le Sieur, who apprenticed in Dinan and toured Brittany for ten years before opening his print shop in Vannes.[5]

Whether from the pressures of work or unrelated health problems, the founder of the Galles dynasty passed away in 1684 at the age of forty. Thus began what came to be an unwanted tradition in which parents died young and other family members served as guardians for the children and looked after the business. One can only speculate about the emotional impact of such circumstances on the next generation, though certainly the Galles' history supports modern psychological research pointing to increased self-reliance and determination to succeed—and do so early.[6]

Only Christophle and his brother Vincent, four years his junior, survived to adulthood. One of their uncles, *curé* Pierre, was awarded their *tutelle*, or guardianship, while Olive Buor Galles in fact raised them and trained them in the book trade. She gained only the right to sell books, however, perhaps because of her husband's troubles or because she herself had insufficient experience in the printer's craft. We now know that widows played increasingly important roles in all sorts of incorporated crafts and trades during the last one hundred years of the old regime, though at the same time they were often discriminated against within their crafts.[7]

Veuve Galles, who ran the business from 1684 until Christophle took over in 1705, was the first in a remarkable line of women who married into the Galles family and did as much to thrust them upward as their men. Most important, she saw to it that her stepsons were well trained in the craft that circumstances denied them at home. Christophle was apprenticed in Paris (an expensive and difficult objective to realize) and then made his *tour* in "Rennes and other cities" for six years, finally becoming a *compagnon* with Jacques Henqueville in Vannes.[8] Obviously Henqueville might have

5. "A M. le Senéschal communiquée au Procureur du Roi le 30 juillet 1681," ADM, B 1359; "Sentence de reception de Guillaume Le Sieur, Imprimeur," March 10, 1683. Vannes did not have a *chambre syndicale* (guild) for the printers' *corps d'état*, and therefore decisions regarding the business were made by the presidial court, itself subject to pressure from the central government. The judiciary's authority vitiated over the eighteenth century and collapsed in 1763, when the Conseil d'État took it over completely. See the discussion later in this chapter. Among the many studies of the crafts and their regulation, see especially, for the provinces, James R. Farr, *Hands of Honor: Artisans and Their World in Dijon, 1550–1650* (Ithaca, NY, 1988); for Paris, the various works of Steven Laurence Kaplan, especially, for the unraveling of the system, *La fin des corporations* (Paris, 2001); and for a remarkable analytical overview, Michael Sonenscher, *Work and Wages: Natural Law, Politics and the Eighteenth-Century Trades* (Cambridge, 1989).

6. Among several studies, see the nuanced analysis (which distinguishes strongly between divorce and early death) of E. Hailey Maier and Margie E. Lackman, "Consequences of Early Parental Loss and Separation for Health and Well-Being in Midlife," *International Journal of Behavioral Development* 24, no. 2 (2000): 183–89. Of great relevance as well is Kristin Y. Mack, "The Effects of Early Parental Death on Sibling Relationships in Later Life," *Omega* 49, no. 2 (2004): 131–48, which argues that siblings remain emotionally closer if a parent or parents died when they were children. Positive accomplishment as adults can also be accompanied by depression, often severe, as we shall see in our later generations. See Harris Finkelstein, "The Long-Term Effects of Early Parent Death: A Review," *Journal of Clinical Psychology* 44, no. 1 (1988): 3–9.

7. Janine Lanza, *From Wives to Widows in Early Modern Paris: Gender, Economy and Law* (Aldershot, UK, 2008); Daryl Hafter, *Women at Work in Preindustrial France* (University Park, PA, 2008), especially 239–42; *Gallia typographique*, s.v. "Jean Galles."

8. *Gallia typographique*, s.v. "Vannes—Christophle Galles."

resisted taking on a man who he knew would one day become his rival, so it is likely that Christophle's stepmother had long cultivated harmonious relations with him to create the opportunity. Since she retained the right to supply the Collège while Henqueville possessed only the privileges of an *imprimeur*, she had some commercial leverage with him as well. Vincent's itinerary is not known, but he had the proficiency to be admitted master in 1718.

Olive Buor also cultivated a connection that turned out to be possibly the most significant in the Galles' early ascent: the marriage between Christophle and Jeanne Audran. Her father, Nicolas Audran, founded the fortunes of the Breton branch of this illustrious lineage of printers, engravers, designers, and artists. The "Paris Audrans," several of whom became artists and officials with the Gobelins tapestry works, would welcome Jean Galles's great-grandson Jean-Marie to Paris as he established the publisher's commercial ties with the capital in the early 1760s.[9]

The Audrans had a fascinating history. Louis Audran, born in Paris of modest artisans in 1560, became an officer in Henri IV's wolf-hunting squad (*louvéterie*). A natural athlete, he doubled as the king's tennis coach and playing partner and, showing some architectural skills, designed and oversaw the building of the Jeu de Paume de l'Étoile along the Fossés Saint-Germain. Two of his sons became engravers. Charles, the eldest, was an enormously talented artist and perfected a method of engraving that would allow as many as five thousand prints per copper plate. The other, Claude I, an engraver of some repute who migrated to Lyon, fathered the line that would continue his brother's celebrity. His son by his first marriage, Germain Audran (1631–1710), apprenticed with his uncle Charles before returning to a prosperous career as an engraver and assistant director of the new Lyon Academy. By his second nuptials, with Élie Betenon of Lyon, the three other branches of the lineage were born. André, a painter, died young in Chaumont, but left a son who went on to establish an important printing and engraving business in Alsace, while Nicolas (1637–1713), trained by his father in the engraver's art, settled in Vannes. Neither apparently possessed the artistic gifts of their brothers. The youngest, Gérard, born in 1640, showed great promise from an early age and went on to work for several years in Rome, gaining sufficient recognition to be tapped by Pope Clement XI to paint his portrait. Like Poussin, he was "ordered" to return to France to paint for the king—in his case, well after Louis XIV had taken the reigns of power—but unlike Poussin, he remained there to carve out an enviable career marked by adulation for all he undertook, be it paintings, murals, engravings, drawings for tapestries, or interior design. As an engraver, Gérard pioneered the development of very large plates and was regarded a the "greatest *Dessinateur* of all who came before him" and, at the time of his death, officially ranked among "Les Grands, aimé des Sçavans en tous genres." A fourth son of this marriage, Claude II, born a year before Gérard, was purely a painter, but also had a highly successful career in Paris as a *peintre du Roi*, largely concentrating on religious themes.

Four of Germain's five sons made their way as painters, sculptors, and engravers. Claude III (1658–1734) became the most renowned. Sponsored by his uncle Gérard,

9. See chapter 2.

he painted dozens of fine murals and ceilings (including the Grand Salon de Meudon for the Dauphin), but was especially gifted in the area of interior design and decoration. He is credited with redirecting the field toward irony and whimsy, using animal motifs and exercising a degree of gentle social criticism. Among the great artists of the eighteenth century, Watteau was probably most deeply influenced by him. Louis XV rewarded Claude Audran with a sinecure as Concierge of the Luxembourg palace, which he embellished with his artwork and tapestries of his design from the Gobelins. His brothers Benoist and Jean both were *graveurs du Roi*, the latter achieving exceptional status in the Académie royale. Jean and his wife, Marguerite Dossier, produced fifteen children, several of whom remained in the art world. Claude's son Michel became an inspector at Gobelins, further anchoring that connection. The only surviving child of Gérard Audran, Heleine, married Pageaut, a *conseiller-sécrétaire du Roi* in the chancellery of the Parlement de Paris, thus allying the family with officialdom, a link that would also be important for the Galles in the future.

Nicolas Audran, born in 1637 to Claude I and Élie Betenon, served his printer-engraver apprenticeship with his father and then, as a *compagnon*, made his *tour de France*. After stints at Nantes and Quimper, he came to Vannes in 1662 to work for Vincent Doriou. Two years later he opened a "modeste boutique de libraire," but had to wait, typically, until his 1666 marriage to Guyonne-Thérèse Grandjean, a native Vannetaise, to purchase the equipment necessary for a print shop. Details are lacking, though it may well have had something to do with his brother Gérard's standing at court, but Audran was favored by Pontchartrain (Louis II Phélypeaux), the *premier président* imposed by Louis XIV after the Bonnet rouge rebellion, and prospered more than his fellow printers during the exile of the Parlement in Vannes. After the court returned to Rennes in 1689, Nicolas Audran was able to move his main operations to the provincial capital (again through the patronage of the great Pontchartrain, now the controller of finance for the realm) and expanded into engraving as well. Although he could never match the dominance of the ancient house of Vatar, he did well enough and added religious works to his government publications. But he retained his shop in Vannes, leaving its control to his wife, assisted by their daughter Jeanne and selected others among their twenty-five(!) children. Audran of Vannes had one press and one *compagnon* and used Olive Buor's *librairie* as an outlet for their works.[10]

On June 30, 1705, the wedding of Christophle Galles and Jeanne Audran was celebrated in the parish church of Saint-Méné. It was a match that brought together skills as well as capital. The partners had also known each other since childhood, as their shops/dwellings were located on the same narrow street in the shadow of the church, so affection likely existed as well. What occurred in fact was a merger, for the Audran name disappears. Olive Buor had negotiated the best of both worlds: on one hand, she attached the Galles to the star of a prominent and well-connected family

10. *Gallia typographique*, s.v. "Vannes—Nicolas Audran"; *Histoire généalogique de la famille des Audran* (Rennes, 1754), quote regarding Gérard Audran, 13; Jean Quéniart, *Culture et société urbaines dans la France de l'ouest au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1978), 371. On Pontchartrain's career, see Sara E. Chapman, *Private Ambition and Political Alliance: The Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain Family and Louis XIV's Government, 1650–1715* (Rochester, NY, 2004).

of *artistes*, while on the other, she had absorbed a local rival. She did negotiate from strength, however. The marriage and Christophle's accession to his rightful role had been delayed for several years by a messy group of lawsuits and countersuits ranging Veuve Galles and her stepsons against her husband's siblings and their heirs. A presidial order of December 10, 1704, ended the battle to terminate the *tutelle* of uncle Pierre over Christophle and Vincent and released them from the claims on their father's estate made by several relatives in the succession of Jacques and François Galles, his other brothers, as well as other *parents paternels*. That Pierre wanted to retain his ties and that the others fought so hard clearly means that the estate and the profits of the *librairie* since 1684 amounted to something. In the absence of other documentation, this order provides good evidence of Olive Buor's successful stewardship of the Galles' affairs.[11] It also paints a picture of late seventeenth-century sibling and cousin relationships in the drabbest colors, but of affinal connections in bright intensity. This, and how it dramatically changed over time, is one of the central points of this study.

Was Christophle's a marriage up or was it down? It differed from that of Ian Galles, certainly, but was unequal in another way. It wedded some degree of wealth with higher status and connection. But it also wedded two people of almost equal talent in their related professions, a phenomenon not often understood until recent studies of women in the trades.[12] Documentation of Christophle and Jeanne's decade at the helm unfortunately is virtually nonexistent. They produced two sons who survived, Nicolas—named for his prestigious maternal grandfather—born in 1707, and Jean-Nicolas (a further reinforcement?) in 1713. There is no question that the business prospered, for it found itself in a position by 1730 to withstand the protracted effort by the royal government to slash the number of printers and booksellers, especially in provincial France. Vannes, despite the flurry of activity during the Parlement's exile,

11. Ec Vannes, Saint Méné, mariages, June 30, 1705, ADM; "Arrest du 10 décembre 1704," in *Archives de la Bibliophile breton: Notices et documents*, vol. 4 (Rennes, 1907), 143. The role of stepparents and stepfamilies in former times could be complex. On the one hand, it might certainly be possible for a stepmother or stepfather to favor his or her own children over their half siblings. (This was not possible with Olive Buor since she had no children of her own.) On the other hand, although much research still needs to be done, stepfamilies often provided just another network of support and potential marriage partners in future generations, a point well made by David Sabean in *Kinship in Neckarhausen, 1700–1870* (Cambridge, 1998), 114. As we shall see later on, second marriages amplified the Galles' interests on several occasions. Julie Hardwick, however, shows that in the harsher times of the seventeenth century, tensions between stepparent and children of the previous marriage and between half-siblings could be toxic. Her summary point is that "whatever tensions partability created seem to have been largely displaced onto step-kin, facilitating good relations" among inheriting siblings. Julie Hardwick, *The Practice of Patriarchy: Gender and the Politics of Household Authority in Early Modern France* (University Park, PA, 1998), 153. On the problems arising from situations like this one between blood-related *tuteurs* and surviving stepmothers and in general on the complex histories of families where *tutelle* was assigned in law, see the excellent study by Sylvie Perrier, *Des enfances protégées: La tutelle des mineurs en France (XVII–XVIII siècle)* (Saint-Denis, 1998), especially chap. 4. The Galles family, as a result of continual early parental death, would face two more guardianships. Typically (according to Perrier), in those cases as well, uncles served in this role, though the second was the less usual maternal uncle.

12. Hafter, *Women at Work*; Claire Haru Crowston, *Fabricating Women: The Seamstresses of Old-Regime France, 1675–1781* (Durham, NC, 2001); Gay Gullickson, *Spinners and Weavers of Auffay: Rural Industry and the Sexual Division of Labor in a French Village, 1750–1850* (Cambridge, 1986).

hardly counted in the western French book trade. Its four shops in 1700 (the moment of a major survey), though the most in its history, each housed but a single press—and the Galles' was then inoperative. Rennes and Nantes were the leading centers in Brittany, each claiming fourteen presses, and the capital served as a principal stop on the *tour de France*, with twenty-four *compagnons* present for the survey. Other key Breton towns—Quimper, Brest, Saint-Malo—were even less active than Vannes. In general, compared to Caen and above all Rouen (the third-most-voluminous publishing city in France after Paris and Lyon), Brittany seemed rather a backwater in the business, especially as one moved west. Undoubtedly language and literacy had much to do with this, for Breton, with only a small literary presence, was the language of the overwhelming majority of the population. French was largely limited to a bilingual aristocracy and urban populations, more narrowly to their upper social strata.

The eighteenth-century success of the Galles thus becomes all the more striking, for it meant combating a weak market with innovative distribution techniques, finding secure outlets in church and government, and maneuvering through the minefields laid by a royal officialdom increasingly hostile to the book business. As Jean Quéniart remarked, "Believing, however illusorily, that they were reinforcing control over the circulation of books and ideas, political authorities went out of their way in the eighteenth century to reduce the number of workshops and, in general, succeeded," especially in attacking lesser provincial centers like Vannes. But as the government chipped away at the number of masters, those who survived massively increased the volume of their operations. Certainly the amount of reading material available to the public and at lower cost, not even counting the clandestine press, mushroomed throughout the century. Ironically, even though the original source of the policy may have been political repression (especially in the wake of Regency tensions), its effect was to increase efficiency, profitability, and output. Quéniart describes in general what happened to the Galles in particular, and in fact what was happening in many other trades subject to state controls: "Governmental policy, in suppressing certain workshops, encouraged the concentration of the means [of production], provoking the formation of more powerful enterprises able to produce simultaneously different types of works: any workshop had the capacity to produce commercial printing of the common sort and with only one or two machines would be largely limited to such, but one with four presses could at the same time . . . print veritable books, thus having much more significant cultural reverberations."[13] Precisely how one en-

13. Quéniart, *Culture*, 343–48, 357, and 360. Parisian print shops followed the same pattern over the century, dropping from fifty-one to thirty-eight, concentrating ever larger numbers of workers: whereas in 1701, only two establishments had more than twenty employees, by 1787, twenty-five did, with eight establishments topping forty. Philippe Minard, *Typographes des Lumières, suivie des "Anecdotes typographiques" de Nicolas Contat* (Seyssel, 1989), 26–27. The tendency of state policy (whatever its rationale) to favor industrial and commercial concentration, at least from the time of Cardinal Fleury on, has been a theme in many studies. Christopher H. Johnson, "Capitalism and the State: Capital Accumulation and Proletarianization in the Languedocian Woolens Industry, 1700–1789," in *The Workshop before the Factory: Artisans and Proletarians, 1500–1800*, ed. Thomas Max Safley and Leonard N. Rosenband (Ithaca, NY, 1993), 37–62; Leonard Rosenband, *Papermaking in Eighteenth-Century France: Management, Labor, and Revolution at the Montgolfier Mill, 1761–1805* (Baltimore, 2000); Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion*

terprise managed to survive while others did not unquestionably went beyond talent and determination into that quintessentially eighteenth-century realm of Influence.

Jeanne Audran and Christophle Galles died young as well: she in 1715, he three years later. Their orphaned boys came under the *tutelle* of their uncle Vincent, who apparently never married. It was he, in fact, who managed the fortunes of the house as the government's restrictive policies came to visit Vannes, while simultaneously fending off more relatives from Caen seeking to cash in on their (increasingly distant) cousin's good fortune. His first challenge came in 1731, when, in a contest with Henqueville as to which of them should have the right to continue in the trade, Vincent gathered a group of prominent supporters—four priests, two seigneurs, and a *receveur*—to attest to his stellar qualities as man and printer. Pierre Renaud, a priest and rector of the College of the Company of Jesus, read out their conclusions: "He is fully capable of producing works of print whether for the College or for the King, and of all sorts of other works permitted by the edicts and declarations of the King, and we have knowledge of the fact that the said Vincent Galles has had the direction and the control of the Print Shop of his deceased brother Christophle Galles during the minority of Nicolas Galles, his nephew."[14] The occasion may also have been the majority of Nicolas, at which point Doriou challenged the competence of the young man to continue the business. Nicolas suffered from ill health in his later life, and it may well be that his powers were questionable when he was younger as well. There is no record of his reception as master in Vannes, nor of an apprenticeship, whereas his younger brother, Jean-Nicolas, is fully documented. The two would always be "associated" in the direction of the firm in later times, although Nicolas, as the elder, would be listed first. In any case, Vincent had outflanked Henqueville and continued to run the business until 1744.

Meanwhile, Jean-Nicolas sought the best training he could. He was a prize pupil at the Collège des Jésuites, gaining fluency in Latin and a reading knowledge of Greek, received his apprenticeship certificate signed by Chairehélier of Paris (a prominent multipurpose house) on September 26, 1737, toured four years thereafter, and was received as "Maitre-Imprimeur-Libraire" late in 1741, asserting (incorrectly) that he was the "great-grandson of a Galles who worked as a printer in Vannes."[15]

Nicolas, for his part, had accomplished the last marriage within the corporation needed to complete the Galles' monopoly on printing and bookselling in Vannes. Perrine Le Sieur, an heir to the only other printer-bookseller remaining in the city, exchanged vows with him on August 17, 1734. The wedding mass was celebrated in the parish church of Saint-Patern, a *faubourg* populated mainly by artisans. Perrine, her

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in the Ancien Régime, trans. Jean Birrel (Cambridge, 1996); Serge Chassagne, *Coton et ses patrons: France, 1760–1840* (Paris, 1991); Sonenscher, *Work and Wages*. Not only were efficiency and productivity enhanced (not without resistance from workers!), but also goods became available to a wider range of consumers. See above all Daniel Roche, *A History of Everyday Things: The Birth of Consumption in France*, trans. Brian Pearce (Cambridge, 2000).

14. "Attestation de la capacité de Vincent Galles, fils de Jean, tutelle de Nicolas," September 28, 1731, ADM, B 1359.

15. "Reception de Jean-Nicolas Galles," ADM, B 1359.

mother, Janne Le Courvio, and her unmarried sisters Janne and Renée (there were no male heirs) had run the two-press print shop and adjacent *librairie* since the death of their father, Guillaume, who had also been a *fabrique* (vestryman) of the parish. Perrine, the youngest, was a rather advanced twenty-eight in 1734, indicating, perhaps, that the family had resisted relinquishing the business to outside male control for some time. The Galles marriage (Nicolas was a comparatively young twenty-six), however, promised a prosperous future for all. Those signing the register may tell us something about the inner circle of the Le Sieur sisters and their mother. First of all, Janne Le Courvio showed the fluid signature of an experienced businesswoman, as did her three daughters. But most interestingly, eight of the nine people asked to sign the document were women, all of whom, save Veuve Desennebues, simply signed first and last names only. Whether they were single or married we do not know, but they did not follow the usual practice of signing their married name followed by née so-and-so or simply writing "La" before their husband's name. Whatever the case, eight strong signatures from Marie Morice to Anne Junos were sandwiched around what one may take to be a male, "P Babelin." Three of the names, Morice, Caramec, and Lucas, were of familiar families in the merchant world. Two formal witnesses, besides the immediate family members of each, provide a hint of the Galles' and Le Sieurs' preferred kinspeople. Vincent Galpin, "cousin," was the son of Joseph Galpin and Jacquette Audran, Jeanne Audran's younger sister. The Galpins were an old Vannetais family who had long been prosperous woolens and silk merchants. Their names appear in profusion on later documents, continuing, along with the Galles, the Audran presence in Vannes. In a kinship and inheritance system, such as that of much of Brittany, which is strongly bilateral, descent through the female line counts significantly, and the Galpins thus redoubled the affinal tie to the Audrans. The second witness of note was Perrine's "aunt," Catherine Dréau, who must have been signing her married name. This means that there was a significant connection between the Galles and Le Sieurs from the beginning, because a Dreyo (Catherine's husband's father?) had witnessed Ian (Jean) Galles's wedding in 1670.

Although Perrine continued to participate in directing the *maison* Le Sieur as a separate entity until her (again) untimely death from the complications of childbirth in 1738, the merger fell into place thereafter. In 1739 a royal edict recognized a fait accompli: Vannes was to have one *imprimerie* and its name was Galles. With the death of Vincent in 1744, Nicolas took the reins of the business, with his brother an active junior partner.[16]

Cultural Capital

The Galles had come a long way since Ian settled in the city, and we are fortunate that Nicolas decided to incorporate his young son Jean-Marie, his and Perrine's only child, into the firm, for in 1745 the Présidial ordered a complete inventory of his goods and chattels, which included the entire print works and bookshop, but not his brother

16. Ec Vannes, mariages, 1730, ADM.

Jean-Nicolas's personal wealth. This twenty-six-page document, prepared by *notaire* (and future in-law) Claude Bertin in the neat hand of his scribe, allows us finally to enter the world of the Galles in some depth and assess their position and where they were heading socially, intellectually, and politically. It includes only mobile wealth, and thus does not list property holdings.[17]

It is divided into five parts: the equipment of the print shop, books and brochures in stock, Nicolas Galles's personal library, his clothing and furniture, and his cash and commercial papers.

Galles and Son had become a very substantial enterprise, with one "large quarto press," two "moyennes," and one "presse d'imprimerie" for commercial work. They had clearly risen to become a major publishing house, participating in the process of engrossment and diversification that marked the century. The vast assortment of type and engraving plates included the full range necessary for book production, from the cheapest editions to the finest folios. The total weight of the ten type varieties arranged in fourteen cases came to over 2,200 pounds, and the total value of all equipment was 968 livres, 16 sous. These figures placed the Galles in a league with the Vatars of Nantes, if not those of Rennes, and certainly qualified them as one of the largest operations in Brittany outside the capital. Compared with the major firms of Paris or Rouen, they paled to insignificance, but Galles was unquestionably an important publisher, book wholesaler, and retailer.[18]

What did they publish and sell? The inventory included only those books currently in stock, the vast majority of them packaged in sheets prior to being bound. Those bearing the Galles imprimatur numbered 141 separate titles. They speak to the diversity of the Galles output, although the subject matter was relatively circumscribed. Religious works led the way, many of them produced expressly for the Collège and other religious establishments roundabout. The shrine of Sainte-Anne d'Auray flourished as a pilgrimage attraction, and the Vannes cathedral had one of the largest staffs in the province.[19] But a majority of Galles titles (52 percent) dealt with secular topics, mostly school texts and Latin classics, largely destined for the Collège. The total numbered almost eighteen thousand volumes, with an estimated value of 2,899 livres. Religious and classical textbooks and treatises, along with catechisms, accounted for the vast majority, followed by Latin and French literature, then official government publications, capped off by 828 copies of the always useful (and woefully inaccurate) *Abrègé des particules*, a guide to noble names.

17. "Inventaire des effets de la communauté de Nicolas Galles avec feue demoiselle Perrine Lesieur son épouse pour arrester de la ditte Communauté avec son fils, Jean Marie," April 6, 1745, ADM, B 676. All references to the inventory are from this source.

18. See Thierry Rigogne, *Between State and Market: Printing and Bookselling in Eighteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 2007). The best general overview is Roger Chartier and Henri-Jean Martin, eds. *Histoire de l'édition française*, vol. 2, *Le livre triumphant, 1660–1830* (Paris, 1984). On the lives and ways of printers in the age of the Galles' establishment, see above all Philippe Minard, *Typographes des Lumières*.

19. T. J. A. Le Goff, *Vannes and Its Region: A Study of Town and Country in Eighteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1981), 245–48. On the significance of the Jesuits' presence, see Claude Langlois, "Jésuites de la province de France: Jésuites de Bretagne vers 1750," *Dix-huitième siècle* 8 (1976): 77–92.

Galles published only seven books in Breton with a mere one thousand copies in stock. All were in octavo, brief and inexpensive. Besides the popular Rosmader catechism—the main seller—there were three other catechisms, three hymnals, and a French-Breton dictionary, revealing the weakness of a written culture among the Breton-speaking majority. "Literacy" tended to be calculated only in French, and for good reason: already in the seventeenth century, the literary culture of Breton (as with Provençal and Occitan) was under attack from the centralizing state, and social status was increasingly measured by one's level of immersion in French and its cultural universe. The very process of "becoming bourgeois"—indeed in the simplest sense of becoming a town dweller—meant also becoming French. As late as the 1920s, children from the Breton-speaking countryside, off to the lycée in Quimper (Kemper to them), would regularly slug it out with their "bourgeois" classmates who mocked their accents and their sabots, while their teachers rapped their knuckles at every mistake in "la langue nationale." The Galles' list in Breton as of 1745 was already symptomatic. As in the age of Pierre-Jakez Hélias, only the church maintained a written connection to the Breton world and then only as a guide to the spoken and sung elements of Christian education. It was also symptomatic that the Galles' second-best-seller in Breton (120 copies inventoried) was the *Catechisme d'Argougeis françois-breton*, perhaps to aid Francophone priests, but more likely to wean young communicants toward the official language of the kingdom.[20]

Here is a breakdown by subject of the works published by Galles in 1745.

Table 1

Subjects	**Titles**	**%**	**Copies**	**%**
Religion	**67**	**48**	**6,396**	**36**
Guides to ritual and procedure	26	18	3,358	19
Devotional guides	29	21	2,375	13
Theology	6	04	356	02
Texts	6	04	307	02
School texts	**16**	**11**	**4,666**	**26**
Latin	11	08	2,344	13
French	5	04	2,300	13
Latin literature	**42**	**30**	**5,433**	**31**
French literature and history	**10**	**07**	**948**	**05**
Government publications	**6**	**04**	**373**	**02**
Totals	**141**	**100**	**17,816**	**100**

20. See Pierre-Jakez Héias, *The Horse of Pride: Life in a Breton Village*, trans. June Guicharnaud (New Haven, 1978), chap. 4; Serge Plénier, *La langue breton de ses origines à nos jours* (Rennes, 2010). There would be a Breton language literary revival in the nineteenth century which flourished among proponents of regional autonomy and, like the Félibrige of Mistral, was associated with the political right.

The Galles' bread and butter derived from their work for the Collège. Most of the Latin literature volumes were used in courses. Beginning Latin would be taught using the *Fables de Phèdre*, a Latin version of Aesop's fables by Phaedrus subtitled in French. It was widely believed that this book not only provided the best point of entry into Latin but also expressed a morality, in the words of Quintilian, "most excellent and pure." The other Latin books, generally in quarto, included the great works of the ancients led by Cicero, Virgil, Ovid, Livy, Juvenal, and Pliny. Moreover, some of the devotional literature, catechisms, and religious texts were no doubt assigned to students as well. But certainly, supplying the needs of the cathedral, Sainte-Anne d'Auray, and parish churches in the region nearly equaled the school connections. Galles printed endless *Officina, Cérémonies, Oratoires, Cantiques, Traitata officiis confessarii*, and the like along with devotional and meditation guides and six different catechisms.

The publications in literature and history in French probably constituted the Galles' only works directed exclusively toward the secular literate public, although some of their classics in Latin no doubt found buyers too. Their small percentage provides a good indicator of the relative underdevelopment of anything like a "literary public sphere" in the Vannetais, at least at this point, although the Galles bookshop, as we shall see, stocked an extensive list of contemporary literature in French published by others, and the family possessed a rather erudite library of their own. We can almost count on one hand the French secular books they printed. The most interesting, perhaps, were three copies of the *Oeuvres de [Jean-Baptiste-Louis] Gresset*, a playwright and poet who was expelled from the Jesuits in 1734 for publishing *Vert-Vert*, a poetic lampoon about a nunnery parrot that mocks the institution. He went on to write plays of note and light verse, but also prefigured Sade in some of his later work (not represented here) with poetry exploring the "delights of evil."[21] Forty copies of an unidentified *Histoire poétique* sold for a livre each. A few copies of *Mémoires* by a certain Dugué and by Dutch War adversary Charles of Württemburg, an unidentified *Histoire de France* (sixty copies), an intriguing *Femmes militaires* (two copies only), and the best-selling *Abrègé des particules* rounded out the list. It must be said that the last was considerably more popular than the Galles' *Abrègé du Bible*, with a paltry twenty-four copies on the premises.

Then came books available in the *librairie* not published by Galles. Browsing the shelves, one would be greeted by the scents of calfskin and kidskin binding the folio, limited-edition antiphons, graduals, psalters, missals, and Bibles; the three-volume *Corpus juris canonicus;* a one-volume *Lois ecclésiastiques*, a striking (and expensive) Saint Bernard *Opera*; three *Vies des Saints de Bretagne*; and a history of Alexander the Great along with a *Dictionnaire de cas* by the grammarian Jean Pontas. The prices of these books ranged from 8 to 36 livres, the cheapest thus the equivalent of two days' wages for ordinary work. Less exotic (though still costly) quartos and octavos included the usual range of ritual and devotional volumes, but also some theology (e.g., sermons of Augustine and Columbanus; excerpts from the Fathers; homilies, in French, of the seventeenth-century preacher Claude Joly; and finally, providing equal

21. See Jules Wogue, *Jean-Baptiste-Louis Gresset* (Paris, 1894).

time, Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*—in both languages—and Jansenius, *In Evangelia*). At this point secular literature began to appear: the inevitable *Fables* of La Fontaine, a collection of *Poésies morales*, a geography, several dictionaries, and some practical study guides. Also in octavo was a group of books in Greek (Homer, Demosthenes, Plutarch, some Greek fables, and Humanist dialogues) that were *brochés* only—sewn with paper covers.

Only with the smaller and cheaper editions do we find French literature in any volume. While sermons and homilies continue (notably Joly, Bossuet, and Bourdaloue), as does theology (including the *Summa Theologica* of Thomas Aquinas), the reader would also find the plays of Corneille and Molière, if not Racine; Pascal's *Pensées*; Madame de Sévigné's *Lettres*; Fénélon's *Télémaque*; and several sets of *Oeuvres* (Fontanelle, Boileau, Voltaire, and Jean-Baptiste Rousseau); some Latin literature in translation (the usual, plus Lucian and Trajan) and a flock of histories and biographies—a *Histoire universelle, Les Révolutions romaines* (two volumes), a life of Virgil by Père Cartran, and a *Histoire de Clovis* to be sure, but mostly recent European: *Les Révolutions de Suède, Histoire du Luthéranisme, Histoire du Roy de Prusse, Histoire de Louis XIII, Histoire de Louis XIV, La Vie du duc d'Orléans*, and so on. This was all pretty standard stuff. Only the *Philosophie du Han* showed a nod to the sinomania of the time, although the several world geographies available introduced the East to the curious.

Overall, the range was narrow and conservative, but less so, in certain respects, than the inventories taken before 1750 of other *librairies* in western France.[22] The Galles' stock provides some measure of the literary culture of Vannes in 1745. The educated male certainly knew his Latin classics (no other publisher/bookseller inventoried came close to the Galles' sales in Latin, and they may well have supplied demand far afield), and the dozens of devotional texts in both Latin and French attest to a Catholic readership well beyond the classroom. Some of the titles seem aimed at women (e.g. *Avis à une jeune fille, Portrait de la femme forte*), so the nuns and private tutors were having their impact on female education. Literacy rates have not been calculated for Vannes at this date, but at Rennes and Saint-Malo, overall literacy of newlyweds was around 40 percent, with a gap between the sexes of 10 to 15 percent.[23] A third of Vannetaises could probably make out simple pious materials.

We should not be surprised at the dominance of religious printing and sales in Vannes. By mid-century, the Collège not only educated lay students with characteristic Jesuit rigor but also had become one of the major seminaries in western France, training most of the priests (or *recteurs*, as they were called in Brittany; *personn* in Breton) who took their livings in the 165 parishes of the diocese as well as those attached to the cathedral, the shrine at Sainte-Anne d'Auray, and the various substitutes,

22. Quéniart analyzes nine of them. (The Galles' was unknown to him because he did not include Vannes in his study.) None of the nine (Malassis of Brest, 1705 and 1711; Garen of Rennes, 1728; Hérault of Rouen, 1725 and 1728; three Rouennais: Machuel in 1742, De Caux in 1745, and Dumesnil in 1746; and Périer of Quimper in 1743) had anything like the volume of business chez Galles. Only Machuel in fact had a striking list in French belles-lettres, but while he outdid Galles in the number of volumes by some distance, the Vannes shop displayed almost as much variety. Quéniart, *Culture*, 391–95.

23. Ibid., 54–55.

itinerants, and assistants who subsisted at the behest of the bishop, altogether about nine hundred priests.

This diocese had been one of the leaders in the great religious revival of the seventeenth century, and while ardor may have cooled somewhat by 1745, religious devotion, as measured by lay missions and retreats, the strength of ritual pageantry, and indeed the huge volume of texts for all purposes available chez Galles, was a hallmark of the region. On the one hand, as Timothy Le Goff has shown, rectors, whether in the 101 Breton-speaking parishes or the 64 French, were increasingly home-grown (nine out of ten by 1789), generally competent, and close to their parishioners. Though few served the parishes of their birth directly, as sons of regional *coqs de village* and *moyens bourgeois*, they added to their religious leadership social respect along with the ability to mediate between ordinary folk and the elites. On the other hand, male regular clergy rarely had local roots and as landlords were generally unpopular, thus having little spiritual impact. Nor were they known for their charity or learning. Not surprisingly, the numbers of monks in the twenty-five houses of the diocese declined significantly over the century. None of this applies to the Jesuits, of course, whose energy was crucial to the vigor of the secular clergy and of regional religiosity in general. Even after the official expulsion of the Society of Jesus from France in 1762, its spirit remained through teachers who were largely local priests trained at the Collège. Equally respected were the women's orders, numbering twenty-seven, especially the charity, nursing, and teaching congregations, such as the Filles de la Charité, the Ursulines, and the Augustinians, and those who tended to the spiritual needs of the laity, such as the Carmelites of Sainte-Anne d'Auray, the Dames de la Retraite, who organized lay retreats in Vannes, and the Dominican nuns who sponsored the Third Order, a group of laywomen who, like the early Christians, took vows of chastity and dedicated themselves to good works.[24] The vitality of women's spirituality in Vannes and its connection with intellectual achievement is a subject still awaiting its historian, but what we know helps us to understand a bit more clearly the powerful women so central to the Galles' story.

The presence of Jansenist texts chez Galles might seem strange in this Jesuit stronghold, but in fact Vannes, too, had its experience with the enthusiasm of Port-Royal. Indeed, the bishop of the diocese from 1720 to 1742, Antoine Fagon, the son of Louis XIV's physician, was enamored of the erudite doctrine. Many of his appointments to the more influential diocesan positions and to parishes in the immediate vicinity of Vannes went to Jansenist allies. Among them was Louis Bonnard, the rector of Saint-Patern in the city, and François-Guillaume Le Viquel, who served as the rector of the parish where the bishop's country house was situated, but who, more significantly, screened prospective appointees for their doctrinal soundness. Bishop Fagon's death opened the way for an "orthodox" resurgence in which most of his people were purged. From all indications, Jansenism, despite Fagon's considerable diligence, had made little headway among the laity excepting a few vocal bourgeois of Vannes.[25] They,

24. Le Goff, *Vannes*, 244–70; Claude Langlois, *Un diocèse breton au début du dix-neuvième siècle* (Rennes, 1974), 72–94.

25. Le Goff, *Vannes*, 253, 258–59; J. Mahuas, "Le Jansénisme dans le diocese de Vannes au XVIIIe siècle" (doctoral diss., University of Haute-Bretagne, 1966).

and the bishop's friends, could nevertheless find a few titles of interest at Vannes's only bookshop.

A section of the *librairie* housed scientific, technical, and practical works. There was also an area reserved for Brittany. Among the first: Boulis's *Histoire des plantes*, six medical books (including *La chirugerie complette*), a geometry treatise, several arithmetics, civil and criminal law treatises, a *Coutume de vin*, the marine ordinances, a variety of dictionaries (one of rhymes), *Manière d'étudier*, and then *Art de la chasse, Instructions pour la confiture, Le jardinier botaniste, Le ménage des champs*. The Breton corner (all in French) included Sauvageau's *Coutume de Bretagne, Stiles criminels de Bretagne*, and a *Histoire*, all quite expensive and mainly for professional use. In general, Galles appears to have done its best to supply the (relatively limited) needs of Vannes's reading public in 1745. It is a shame that we do not have a later inventory because certainly a comparison would help gauge the evolution of the city's reading habits.

But we do have a picture of the Galles family's interests—and thus perhaps a window on the city's non-clerical intellectual world—as we are invited into the interior of their dwelling to their personal library. This was clearly distinguished in the inventory, and very few volumes duplicated those in the shop. No doubt Nicolas would have sold or traded some of them for the right price, but these books were his, many, no doubt, inherited from his father and uncle. Claude Bertin, the *notaire*, listed 144 different works having sufficient value to be cited by title. Thirty-three were multivolume. He also mentioned eighty "bouquins," old books worth 7 livres, 10 sous, and evaluated the entire collection at 366 livres. Galles possessed twelve books necessary to his profession, including Latin roots, Greek-Latin, French-Breton, French-Spanish, and French-Italian dictionaries and grammars and a set of royal ordinances specific to the trade. Typical of the pre-*Encyclopedia* age, his knowledge of printing and the book trade must have been in his head, for no guides or treatises pertaining to his business appeared on the inventory.[26] Another dozen books rendered practical medical and household advice. Fifty-six titles related to religion, but only eight were devotional tracts, and two were collections of catechisms. Most of the titles (besides a folio Bible and a folio *Praxis Beneficiorum*) reflect a serious interest in theology, including works by Origen, Cyprian, Augustine (sermons only), Peter Lombard, Aquinas, Bonacina, Bossuet, Bourdaloue, Estius, and Molinier, and a variety of sermons and essays by contemporary clerics. A handsome folio *Vies des Saints*, a *Histoire des Conciles*, a Latin-French *Concile de Trent*, and a thirty-six volume *Histoire ecclésiastique* complement these weighty tomes. Along with most of the Latin classics also available in the shop, Nicolas Galles owned Virgil's *Eclogues*, selected works in Latin with side-by-side French translations by Suetonius, Horace, Lucretius, and Caesar, a French Plutarch, Ovid's *Oeuvres*, and Martial's *Epigrammata*. He and his brother read Latin fluently but were happy to take the ancients in their spoken language as well.

26. On this issue, see above all Cynthia J. Koepp, "The Alphabetical Order: Work in Diderot's *Encyclopédie*," in *Work in France: Representations, Meaning, Organization, and Practice*, ed. Steven Laurence Kaplan and Cynthia J. Koepp (Ithaca, NY, 1986), 229–57.

In volume, Galles' taste in modern writers leaned toward history, biography, and law, but closer examination reveals fascinating titles in literature, philosophy, and science. Jehan Becquet's *Oeuvres* comprised a sixteenth-century jurist's descriptions and opinions concerning property law. Biographies included Jean Le Laboureur's *Histoire du Maréchal de Guébriant*, a Breton nobleman and hero of the Thirty Years' War; a biography of the Chevalier Bayart, another seventeenth-century warrior; and a study of the work of the great Italian architect Palladio (1508–1580), known for his "secular orientation." A dozen histories largely dealt with recent France (e.g., *Mémoires de la Paix d'Utrecht)*, but one was titled *La vie d'Élisabeth, Reine d'Angleterre*. Moise Charas's famous history of pharmacy since the Middle Ages, *La pharmacopée royale galénique et chimique* (1676), a well-illustrated and expensive (2 livres 10) volume, brought another controversial figure into the Galles' domain. Charas was a Calvinist who left France after the Revocation, ended up in the court of Charles IV of Spain, where he was called to cure the king and, having failed to do so, got caught up in the Inquisition, only to escape by placing life and science ahead of his faith, which he abjured, returned to Paris a Catholic, and died in his bed in 1698, leaving eleven children to carry forward his name. Other scientific works included the *Histoire des plantes*, a *Géographie de fer*, Antoine Pluche's *Spectacle de la nature* in four volumes, and Cartesian Jacques Rohault's *Traité de physique*. A natural accompaniment was *La philosophie moderne* by Henri de Lelevel, in three volumes, a standard text published in 1698. Relatively little literature graced the shelves of this *libraire*'s library. The *Oeuvres* of Molière, Corneille, and Regnard occupied a place beside *Télémaque*. Something called *Voyage de l'isle de la vertu* and a *Traité de la poésie* stood nearby. The only modern poetry in the collection was a two-volume set by the enormously popular Antoinette Deshouilières with poems and biographical commentary by her daughter. We shall return to them later.

Nicolas Galles was a practical and level-headed fellow, but he also embraced the intellectual challenge of serious theology and explored modern science and philosophy. His literary tastes gave precedence to the classics, to be sure, but he did not mind the titillation of reading (or reading about) unorthodox figures. Still, if he possessed any illicit or "underground" materials, the *notaire* did not find them, and we must doubt that he did. An inescapable rectitude surrounds this man, his work, and his thought.

Such a perception is further strengthened as we examine the rest of his inventory. For a person of some substance and standing, the household's furnishings were modest indeed. The print shop and *librairie* occupied most of the lower floor of the dwelling. Beyond the equipment enumerated earlier, the office furniture was valued at a paltry 18 livres. The main item among the movables in the print shop, of course, was paper, which, along with "prints, parchments, cartons, and canons for the Mass," priced out at 680 livres, an amount only slightly less than the worth of all his household possessions. Although this *notaire* does not escort the reader through the house (as is often the case in inventories), we can calculate from the furniture that the dwelling had two upstairs bedrooms, each with a canopy bed and a "medium-sized" armoire, a large kitchen–dining room (where most household activity took place), and perhaps a salon, but the single armchair and only one large table make this doubtful. The other furniture included a 70 livre classic Breton box-bed, which was usually located close

to the huge kitchen fireplace and was often reserved for the children; a small bed no doubt for a servant; other "chairs"; one large armoire and two small ones; and two decorative pieces, a 12 livre mirror and a tapestry (a Gobelins?) worth 24 livres. Both were status symbols, especially at this date in the eighteenth century. So too were table settings in "porcelaine et faïence," though they were nothing special at 15 livres. The more traditional pewter and copperware had a much higher value at 59 livres together. Iron cookware (15 livres) wrapped up the kitchen inventory. Silver of any sort was not to be found, meaning that the Galles preferred to sink money into "plant" rather than the most common (and decorative) form of eighteenth-century investment for modest householders. Bed linens, quilts, and hangings, mostly of good quality and no doubt largely from his deceased wife's dowry, totaled over 100 livres—not at all unusual in an age that prized good cloth, often elaborately stitched and embroidered. Twelve tablecloths and six dozen napkins of varying quality rounded out the finished linens. And beyond, as in every household, there were yard goods and thread, which together with the table linens came to 40 livres.

How did this aspiring bourgeois dress? Very simply. He owned a Sunday-best suit with its three pairs of culottes and another everyday outfit. His overcoat was heavy blue wool, but valued at just a livre more (9) than his brocade dressing gown. Galles had twenty-seven shirts and fifteen nightshirts worth around 40 livres altogether. The usual range of knee stockings (twelve, of which two were in silk, three in the slightly more valuable cotton) accompanied eighteen cotton handkerchiefs. He clearly had not yet joined the mania for polished appearance and individuality that Daniel Roche wrote so engagingly about for later eighteenth-century Paris. There was no mention of shoes, boots, or hats, leading one to believe that the *notaire* missed the chimney corner. Other items normally on such inventories, such as fuel, cider, and wine, are also not included, so the *cave* may have been bypassed as well. We can be more certain, however, that he did not own a horse and its equipment, for this would have been common knowledge and surely recorded. The total value of his movable household goods totaled an ascetic 752 livres, 9 sous.[27]

Finally, Nicolas Galles had no debts at all and 1,560 livres in cash on hand. He was also the creditor to a diverse population, mostly in small accounts for books purchased by individuals and amounting to 1,252 livres. We can learn something about his business and about Vannes's reading public from the list. Veuve Brette and Veuve Audran of Rennes and Vatar of Nantes, booksellers all, owed respectively 30, 12, and 10 livres for books sent to them, a good indication that some volumes with the Galles imprimatur circulated beyond the region of Vannes. Then there were larger debts (both recent) still out to the *sénéschal* of the Régaires of Vannes, the seigneurial court of the bishop, and the *procureur de la Paroisse de Saint Pierre*, the cathedral, no doubt

27. The classic study of inventories and their social and cultural meaning is Daniel Roche, *Le peuple de Paris* (Paris, 1981), and has served as my guide for assessing the Galles family's social station from such evidence. See also, among many others, Daniel Roche, *Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Regime*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge, 1994) and *A History of Everyday Things: The Birth if Consumption in France, 1600–1800*, trans. Brian Pierce (Cambridge, 2000); and Annick Pradallhe-Galabrun, *The Birth of Intimacy: Privacy and Domestic Life in Early Modern Paris*, trans. Jocelyn Phelps (Paris, 1997).

for printing of an official nature. The Collège owed nothing. Galles's largest debtor, however, was one Mademoiselle Sorel de Vigner for separate amounts of 200 and 400 livres. In contrast to all other debts in the Galles accounts, which are for smaller, specific, uneven amounts, these appear to be personal loans that would have been backed by *billets d'échange*. The recipient could not be tracked down but may well have been a noble lady. Later Galles probate records show a good number of such petty-banker loans, so these may have been among the first. Nicolas's largest debtor for books at retail was the *avocat* Le Noué, with something less than 100 livres, followed by the noble Gibon de Queralbo and Abbé Quermar. (Note that Galles—or the recipients—insisted on Frenchifying these Breton names.) His entire list of debtors reflects the books on sale, with nearly 60 percent priests, followed by lawyers, a few nobles, and several physicians. The most interesting fact, perhaps, was that twelve of the sixty-five debtors on his list (all for a few livres save Mademoiselle Sorel de Vigner) were women, clear confirmation of my earlier hypothesis regarding an active female readership in Vannes and Galles's proclivity to serve them.

Nicolas Galles's movable goods came to 6,240 livres, and he had another 1,560 in cash and 1,252 in commercial paper—a net worth of around 9,000 livres. It seems likely that he also would have possessed at least some state bonds, and it would be surprising, given the relative success of his business, if he had not purchased some land to be leased under *domaine congéable*, the most common form of landed investment in the Vannetais, but documentation neither appears in the inventory nor has been located elsewhere. This is not an enormous *biens mobilier*, though it is certainly substantial. This amount of mobile wealth—most of it, as with the majority of tradesmen, connected with business—put him beyond tanners (averaging around 2,000) and clothiers (around 3,000) and more in the same league with lesser grain wholesalers, Vannes's wealthiest merchants. More to the point, we know that the capitation tax paid by Nicolas in 1760 was 60 livres and that his brother Jean-Nicolas paid the same. They were partners at the time, and thus the tax, which was based on total assets, wherever they were located, on the Galles economic activities was divided between them. This placed *each* of them very high in the tax registers, where the average for all taxpayers was about 10 livres and the average for nobles, in fact, was 34 (though undervaluation of them was rampant). It should be noted, however, that because printers and booksellers could do little to hide the tools and products of their trade, they consistently fell into relatively elevated tax brackets. Still, the Galles' capitation figure meant that they must have owned land by 1760.[28]

Although Vannes did not prosper during the 1740s and 1750s as its staple, the grain trade, plummeted and its rival port, Lorient, boomed, the Galles' business did very well. Unlike with tradesmen directly dependent on the wealthy (the number of butchers and their tax load, for example, declined in exact proportion to the declining capitation of *négociants* and number of nobles living in Vannes in 1733–1760),[29]

28. My detailed analysis of Galles property holdings does not begin until the 1780s. *Sondages* in notarial papers for earlier times proved fruitless, as did a search through *vingtième* tax records.

29. Le Goff, *Vannes*, chap. 2.

demand from booksellers' clientele was less elastic, especially if credit was available. In Vannes, both the Collège and ecclesiastical institutions expanded their activities in mid-century as the processes described earlier came into their own. Moreover, government publications multiplied and the Galles snagged orders for most of them, launching their bid to be named an *imprimerie royale*. But the biggest development was their growing connection with the Parisian market, which would culminate in 1761 with the decision to send young Jean-Marie to Paris as a permanent representative of the firm.

Printers, Intellectuals

At this point we can begin to think seriously about who these people were, even though their letters to one another cannot yet speak to us. In 1745 Jean-Marie would soon enroll at the Collège de Vannes, and he had a library at home that would be the envy of all but a few of his schoolmates. Also, as a helper/apprentice in his father's shop and worthy of incorporation even at his tender age, he could listen intelligently to his father and uncle talk books and ideas with their customers and maybe say a few phrases in Latin for a bonbon from an appreciative abbé. The Galles brothers were clearly intellectuals. The very first letter in the collection, to Nicolas from one Jean Du Fau of nearby Landevant and dated December 1749, proposed the creation of a "confrairie" for "philosophical and literary pursuits" similar to a Masonic lodge, but explicitly "Christian" in its orientation. Du Fau asked Nicolas to take up the issue in Vannes. Although no details were given, the choice of a confraternity modeled the society on church lay organizations and charitable/ritual associations connected to guilds. Evidence for its actual creation and activity does not exist, but we know that by the 1770s, a literary society similar to those springing up everywhere in the province had been established in Vannes; Jean-Nicolas's son Marc would become one of its leaders, starting a long tradition in the family. This letter may suggest its origin and that the Galles brothers occupied the ground floor in the creation of a "literary—if not necessarily oppositional—public sphere" in the city.[30]

Let us imagine the education of Jean-Marie or of his cousin Marc, who enrolled in the Collège in 1749 and 1762, respectively, a span of years in which their fathers possibly busied themselves with organizing literary gatherings, perhaps in the shop itself. Perrine, Marc's sister, may well have had the same exposure at home as they, but not the same formal educational opportunities. Later evidence shows that she was intellectually inclined, was well read, and wrote flawlessly, but her schooling is nowhere discussed, though it would not have included the rigors (especially in the classics, Latin, and Greek) of theirs. The boys would not have had to board, since

30. ADM, 2 J 75. On academies, societies, and lodges in Brittany, see Quéniart, *Culture*, 413–427. It is not at all clear whether Vannes should be considered one of the provincial towns where Habermas's "literary public sphere" blossomed. This letter is minor evidence that it may have been. It is not a subject that Le Goff pursued. The reference here, of course, is to Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger with the assistance of Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, MA, 1989).

the school stood only a stone's throw away across the place du Marché. The Collège de Vannes was in fact the oldest secondary school in Brittany, dating to the Middle Ages and to the year 1574 in its present location. The Jesuits acquired its direction on a lease from the municipality, which also generously subsidized it and promoted private and corporative contributions. At any one time, the college had about five hundred students. Its historian, Jean Allanic, estimates that the Jesuits educated more than eight thousand young men during their tenure. But even after the Society was banned in 1762, the discipline of the Fathers continued, because virtually all of the clergy who replaced them had been students at the school as well as the seminary in the same location. As in most Jesuit institutions, broad learning in the non-Christian classics was the norm—as we have already seen from the Galles' booklists. The boys learned history, but only ancient history. And they learned it all in Latin, which was the common language of the school. In the higher forms, the young men got plenty of science, especially geometry, physics, cosmography, and music. Theater, dance, and contemporary literature evoking ancient themes drew out their artistic talents in plays, performances, and readings. Jansenists frowned and occasionally railed at this display of "profane culture," but were unable to alter the college's curriculum before or after 1762. The only perceptible change, at least according to the (later) Chouan leader Georges Cadoudal, was a greater emphasis on Breton life and culture, the boys now being taught by men of their "own blood." But they were still speaking Latin! Young Jean-Marie Galles preceded that age, but his cousin Marc would enter the school precisely in 1762.[31]

Books, books, books. Whatever the Jesuits inspired or drilled in the Galles cousins (and it was plenty, for Jean-Marie's *reception imprimeur* of 1759 lists mastery of Latin and Greek plus certificates in logic and rhetoric,[32] while Marc was early on labeled the "imprimeur-humaniste de Vannes"), their full education occurred in the family library and bookshop. New titles surely appeared in both after 1745, but the inventory reveals a broad range that goes well beyond any school curriculum. It is always risky to leap from books on the shelf to ideas in the head. Still, we know very well that Jean-Marie, Marc, and Perrine were deeply engaged intellectually, presenting a religious, philosophical, and political outlook that was both complex and coherent. It came down to a conservatism that sought to reconcile Roman Catholicism and monarchism with principles of modern science and enlightened thought but, perhaps more important, with a heightened aesthetic sensibility that merged nature, a Christianity of the heart, and lyricism.

There are certain benchmarks, especially when we contrast books in the personal library with those in the shop and consider what is absent in both. One would have thought that France's greatest tragedian did not exist. The Galles clearly embraced the drama of the classic age, for the works (in various forms) of Corneille, Molière, and Regnard were at hand. But not Racine. And while several copies of Pascal's *Pensées* (and only the *Pensées*) could be purchased in the shop, the sage of Port-Royal was

31. Jean Allanic, "Histoire du Collège de Vannes," *Annales de Bretagne* 18 (1901–2): 59–85, 234–75. On girls' education (general, literary, and epistolary) in the eighteenth century, see the analysis by Dena Goodman, *Becoming a Woman in the Age of Letters* (Ithaca, NY, 2009), 63–157.

32. ADM, B1359, June 9, 1759.

unrepresented in the library, as was the master (only one copy of Jansen's *In Evangelia* could be purchased in the store). From a practical point of view, it should on the one hand probably come as no surprise that a bookseller who depended on the Jesuit seminary for a considerable portion of his living should not stock much Jansenist literature; but on the other hand, for many years he had to worry about the concerns of the Jansenist bishop Fagon and his appointees, and Fagon's death did not put an end to the Jansenist presence in the city. Besides, if neither Racine nor the austere theology of Port-Royal was to their taste, the Galles did not hesitate to embrace the great popularizers of Descartes, Antoine Arnauld and Jacques Rohault, both of whom collaborated with Jansenist savants, though not without conflict. Jean-Marie could read each of these writers' key works in his father's personal collection, and Arnauld and Nicole's *Logique du Port-Royal ou l'art de penser* and Arnauld's great collaborative work with Lancelot, *La gramaire générale et raisonnée*, were also available in the shop. Abbé Antoine Pluche's *Spectacle de la nature*, an eighteenth-century best-seller if there ever was one, had a Jansenist slant, but its main purpose was to reconcile modern science (explored in minute detail) with Christianity. Still, Jesuits were well represented in their reading material, including Noel Regnault's *Logique en forme d'entretiens* and two works by the Jesuit grammarian Claude Buffier.

It is, however, the poetry toward which the Galles inclined that may be the most telling: besides their printing Gresset and stocking J.-B. Rousseau, their personal library included not only the works of these authors but also the most complete two-volume octavo edition of the poems of Madame Deshouilières and her daughter, which sat side by side with Virgil's *Eclogues* (in French). If Racine's *Phèdre* was not to be seen, Seneca's was available in three different forms, one of which Galles printed. And in a library rich in theology, sermons, and philosophical works by prelates, Bossuet's considerable corpus was represented not by his great funeral orations or his panegyrics but merely by a cheap edition of his *Remarques*, along with his *Méditations* and *Élévations*. The bishop of Meaux ceded place to another—heterodox—tradition, one that related to God in "pure love," in a state of disinterested devotion where will and intellect merged at the highest level of the soul, where neither fear of damnation nor desire for salvation motivated one's love of God. And such a state lay beyond reason, but would be reached by the contemplation of the essential simplicity of His creation. For there on the shelves were Saint Francis de Sales's *Introduction à la vie dévotte* [*sic*], several copies of that progenitor of lyricism and the rural idyll Olivier de Serres's *Théâtre d'agriculture ou le Ménage des champs*, and of course Fénelon's *Télémaque* in three different editions.[33]

33. In tracking down the various works and authors dealt with in this chapter, I found the library of the Camargo Foundation of Cassis, where I was a Fellow in 1999, to be tremendously useful. Not only did it have many of the volumes in question, but also it contained useful guides and works of literary criticism that identified and analyzed them. Most important were *Dictionnaire des littératures de langue française*, ed. Jean-Pierre de Beaumarchais, Daniel Couty, and Alain Rey (Paris, 1984); Antoine Adam, *Histoire de la littérature française au XVIIe siècle*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1948–1956); Jean Ehrard, *Le XVIIIe siècle*, vols. 9–11 of *Littérature française* (Paris, 1974–1977); Joseph-Marie Quérard, *La France littéraire: ou, Dictionnaire bibliographique des savants, historiens et gens de lettres de la France, ainsi que des littérateurs étrangers qui ont écrit en français, plus particulièrement pendant les XVIIIe et XIXe siècles* (1827), repr. 12 vols. (Paris, 1964). Most of my assessments in this discussion integrate insights from these works.

What might all this mean? Central, of course, is the influence of Jesuit thought, though, as always, this implied nothing rigid. The aversion to Racine no doubt owes something to the Society's attacks on him, but may say more about a philosophical sensibility that ties more closely to perhaps his most vocal enemy of the time, Antoinette Deshouilières. She and her great friend the *salonnière* Madeleine de Scudéry came to be known as "les Muses des Modernes," delighting the circle of the duc de Nevers with their wit and "grande culture." Deshouilières's most (in)famous moment came in 1677, when she capped off the *querelle de Phèdre* (in which the playwright Jacques Pradon hurriedly wrote a counter-*Phèdre*, titled *Phèdre et Hippolyte*, which opened at the Guénégaud theater two nights after Racine's play at the Hotel de Bourgogne) with a scathing sonnet against Racine. She is generally credited as the leader, with Nevers, of the anti-Racine camp. Although this particular incident may have been mainly about rival playhouses and their troupes, it reflected profound philosophical differences, particularly as highlighted by the play itself. Universally regarded as Racine's greatest drama, *Phèdre* is rooted in the Greek tale of Theseus's second wife's incestuous love for her stepson Hippolytus. The youth, a hunter and warrior under the spell of Artemis and incapable of human love, is sent spiraling toward doom by his stepmother's passion, itself aroused by the rival goddess Aphrodite. In the original telling, by Euripides, Phaedra was "a weak victim, ashamed of her passion, incapable of avowing it and of bearing it," who kills herself midway through the play. Seneca, by contrast, makes her a passionate and vocal force who taunts Hippolytus with her love and seems rather to revel in the evil she invokes, an all too human, almost Augustinian being. Racine, in the critic Antoine Adam's reading, accomplishes the daunting task of merging the two, but only by abandoning any notion of immanent justice. Any Christian reading of the play does not hold, for there is no God of redemption here, only "evil gods who take pleasure at the suffering of humans, who push them to crime in order to damn them." But beyond this, human destinies are also impelled by the "obscure tyranny" of heredity, of conditions fixed in blood. And here is where Roland Barthes's understanding of the "formal" character of the tragedy becomes relevant, where the actors are incapable of altering the unfolding disasters, and where the essential drama resides in when and how the secret is avowed, when and how the knots binding the souls of Evil's victims are unraveled in words. The final triumph of the monstrous (literally, as Hippolyte is shredded and dispersed) brings an end to it, but not before Phèdre, in her dying confession, "*fulfills* her transgression, or in other words" (in a spectacular inversion of Christian belief) "absolves God." Although such terror speaks to the twentieth century, it did not sit well in the later seventeenth and eighteenth (until Sade); Pradon's *Hippolyte*, which leaves out the incest theme altogether, found greater favor with the public at the moment, but disappeared as rapidly as its author's reputation.[34]

34. Nicolas Pradon, *Phèdre et Hippolyte, Tragédie, représenté pour le première fois le 3 janvier 1677 à l'Hôtel Guénégaud*, www.théâtreclassique.fr (version of February 8, 2009); Jean Racine, *Phèdre* [originally titled *Phèdre et Hippolyte* and changed only in 1687] (1950; Paris, 2000); Adam, *Histoire*, 4:282–89 (on the *querelle*, quote 289), and 366–74 (on Racine's *Phèdre*, quotes 371) and vol. 3; Roland Barthes, *Sur Racine* (Paris, 1963), 115–22, quote 121.

Racine and Boileau played the dominant role in the defense of the ancients against the self-proclaimed leader of the moderns, Charles Perrault, Madame Deshoulières's most constant male companion. That famous squabble pitted the defenders of Latin and Greek literatures against those who argued that the triumphs of modern science and philosophy transformed the foundations of thought, making literature in modern languages and new departures in art and architecture not just valid but potentially superior. The first round of this conflict came to an end in 1694, when Arnauld, now the octogenarian *grand homme* of French thought, brought Boileau to recognize the value of updating the ancients and indeed of some of the work of the "moderns" (who in fact were largely seen as inferior writers, though undoubtedly this judgment was to some extent related to the fact that many of them were women) and Perrault to descend from his high horse. They reconciled publicly, embracing each other before the Academy. Sixteen ninety-four was also the year of Deshoulières's death.

It may not be stretching the evidence too much to place this fascinating woman near the center of the Galles' intellectual universe. A variety of somewhat contradictory strands come together in her biography and her poetry. Links with other authors (both direct and spiritual) in their collection abound, and Antoinette Deshoulières's character—at least as revealed by her daughter Antoinette-Therèse in the very volumes that the Galles were reading—resonated with other apparent heroes dotting their library and shop. A preliminary point: the two-volume *Poésies* des Mesdames Deshouilières—first published in 1704 and reprinted thereafter several times by David, then Vilette, of Paris (the *notaire* did not provide publishing information but valued their octavo edition at a healthy 3 livres 10)—rested only in their personal library. There is no question that the poet was popular throughout the eighteenth century.[35]

She did lead a full life. Born in 1634, she was the well-educated (including Latin) daughter of the high Parisian *noblesse d'épée*. Her father, Melchior du Ligier, Sieur de la Garde, served as the maître d'hôtel of the queen. She was tutored by the poet Jean Hesnault, and through him was introduced to the thought of Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655) and hence a grounding in the atomist, Epicurean alternative to still powerful Aristotelian views of matter. Her beauty and strategic place at court attracted the attention of an important (older) army officer, Guillaume de la Fon de Bois-Guérin, Seigneur des Houilières, whom she married in 1651. Their world was that of Condé and the Fronde (the groom was a lieutenant-general in the anti-Mazarin forces), and when their hopes were smashed, her husband went into exile in Brussels, while she remained in Paris with her parents, further advancing her studies and finding a circle of cultured friends. She later joined her husband in Brussels. Tradition has it that she became a spy for France (while fending off the advances of Condé), but it is certain that she was jailed by the Spanish in 1657. She profited from this sojourn at the Château de Wilworden to read widely in modern philosophy—especially comparing

35. The edition likely to have been on the Galles' bookshelf is *Poësies de Madame Deshoulières; Augmentées dans cette dernière édition d'une infinité de Pièces qui ont été trouvées chez ses Amis, tome premier* and *Poësies de Madame et de Mademoiselle Deshoulières, nouvelle édition; Augmentées de plusieurs Ouvrages qui n'ont point encore paru, tome second* (Paris, 1725). For the ongoing publication history, see Quérard, *Dictionnaire*, 2:515.

Descartes and Gassendi—as well as the great theologians of the early church. The couple managed to escape and returned to Paris, where she soon entered *la société mondaine* while her husband was reabsorbed into legitimate military service. Like many military men, he managed his finances poorly, and they resorted to a separation of assets to preserve her meager income. With four children, she found it necessary to live frugally, but her growing circle of friends, especially Madeleine de Scudéry and the duc de Nevers, nevertheless ushered her into the literary life often called libertine. Although this implied scoffing at traditional sexual mores, it meant a great deal more, especially for women seeking intellectual fulfillment. Often partially sustained by wealthy *patronnes*, they entered a world of salons, theater, discussion groups, and poetry-reading circles where men and women could act on more or less equal footing. Deshouilières's people cared passionately about advancing French letters to escape the stranglehold of the classics. Pierre Corneille and his less renowned brother Thomas were their heroes, though La Fontaine and even Molière qualified as "moderns," despite the disclaimers that each registered in relation to the movement. The self-professed moderns, along with their "Muses," included writers less well known today, such as Charpentier, Perrault, Conrart, Benssarade, and Quinault. Their philosophical foundation lay in Cartesianism. Its champions, Claude Clercelier, Jacques Rohault, and Antoine Arnauld, were regulars at their gatherings, so we begin to sense some connections that the Galles children might have made in their reading.

Antoinette Deshouilières's poetry certainly reflected the new science in its materialism, but it also drew upon the social criticism running through libertine-modernist values that condemned conspicuous display and the measurement of human relations, including marriage, in money. More deeply, "she had the strongest sense of the force of things, the vanity of life, of the nothingness into which all things are ultimately flung. The beyond terrified her and appeared to her as a great and dreadful night." One can understand, from such a perspective, why Racine's Phèdre would be so unbearable; to one uncertain of Christian redemption, the vision of an evil god seeking satiation through the emotional torture of a woman estranged from her husband may have had a quite personal meaning for her. Deshouilières did not, like the later Gresset (or Sade), embrace *le néant* but sought resolution in Quietism. Antoine Adam argues that "Mme. Deshouilières was the first to say with such insistence that reason has been given to man only for his unhappiness and creates in him only a state of *déchirement*" (roughly, "heartbreak"). Ultimately, to render oneself to nature, to the peace of high pastures, to the innocent world of shepherds and their animals, and abandon all pretentions, material and intellectual, promised reintegration with the infinite on its terms. Her most famous line says it all: "Paissez, moutons, paissez sans règle et sans science."[36]

Recent scholarship has been drawn to her role as a major voice of philosophical naturalism, stressing that beneath the deceptive and alluring simplicity of the pastoral

36. Adam, *Histoire*, 3:177–79. The pastoral and the lyric were represented in the Galles shop and personal library by a two-volume Gresset (which they published) and the *Oeuvres choisis* of Jean-Baptiste Rousseau. Both poets were also iconoclasts whose popularity waned with their genre.

lay a complete worldview. Let us listen carefully to the analysis of John Conley, the first modern writer to take her philosophy seriously, and imagine Jean-Marie, Marc, and Perrine Galles, surrounded by books of many of the classical and contemporary thinkers well known to Madame Deshouilières, thinking through the implications of her lovely poetry: "[Deshouilières's] moral libertinism is rooted in a naturalist conception of human nature. Since all mental activity is an epiphenomenon of corporeal activity, specifically in the brain, moral action rightly focuses on the preservation and care of the body. The maximization of pleasure and the reduction of pain thus becomes an imperative moral duty for the human individual and community. Her neo-Epicurean moral principles rest on the naturalist thesis that human nature is entirely immersed within the web of material nature and that claims of human transcendence due to a spiritual soul are erroneous." Such thought led inevitably to an environmentalist ethic that appears everywhere in Deshouilières's poetry. The pretentions of human reason have led to the willful destruction of nature that has its complement in the murder and rapine of warfare. Not alone by any means, she envisions a true humanity living in simplicity and equality, embedded in nature and sustained by a value system that treasures life in all its forms.[37] While the Galles family might not accept the anti-Christian message of the extreme atomism sometimes appearing in Deshouilières's work, we know well from future evidence that for many of them, Christian belief was constantly hedged by doubt and skepticism and that the natural world around them was a source of wonder and deep pleasure. Reconciliation of modern scientific ideas and the Christian message remained a constant preoccupation, as it was for most thinking Europeans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Most of Deshouilières's poems were written in the 1670s and 1680s, and her first collection appeared in 1687. Beginning in 1682, she suffered ("was tortured," in her daughter's words) from the breast cancer to which she succumbed in 1694; in her last days she returned to Catholicism, but for most of her readers, in its Quietist aspect, it did not necessarily contradict her naturalism. She had questioned the existence of the individual human soul and its immortality, and with all Quietists faced the charge of pantheism. Deshouilières's personal story must have resonated with the Galles family, and especially Jean-Marie, whose only sense of his mother was the tale of her lingering death after his birth, the presence of death in mid-life an all too recurrent reality. The power of Perrine Le Sieur Galles's memory was manifest: the only girl born of that generation, her niece, was named for her.

37. John J. Conley, "Deshoulières, Antoinette du Ligier de la Garde (1638–1694)," in *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy: A Peer-Reviewed Academic Resource*, www.iep.utm.edu/cdeshouli/#H4, 5. Feminist scholarship today has rediscovered Deshoulières—largely ignored after the rise of Romanticism—and gives a greater credibility to the discernment of the mass of readers she retained throughout the eighteenth century, including the Galles family. Although she has not yet received the full-scale biography she deserves, her poetry has not only been gathered in an elegant edition, Antoinette des Houlières, *L'enchantement des chagrins: Poésies complètes*, ed. Catherine Hémon-Fabre et Pierre-Eugène Leroy (Paris, 2005), but also entered popular culture with an album setting her songs to music by French superstars Jean-Louis Murat and Isabelle Huppert in a CD titled simply *Madame Deshoulières*. Conley's book, *The Suspicion of Virtue: Women Philosophers in Neoclassical France* (Ithaca, NY, 2002), places Deshoulières in her historical-philosophical context.

The connection between Christian Quietism and the poetry of the pastoral and the lyric has often been emphasized. The Psalms and the Song of Songs—the Bible's most eloquent evocation of the beauties of nature and the universality of God's love—played a central role in Quietist theology, as they did in lyrical poetry not specifically tied to the movement. One of the key works of Madame de Guyon, France's main proponent of Quietism during the reign of Louis XIV, was a commentary on the Song of Songs, and Fénelon, her most famous defender, not only praised the Psalms' vision of creation as a basis for coming to God in pure love, but also again and again rose to lyrical heights in *Télémaque* expressing nature's wonder. Quietism was officially condemned by the papacy (and Guyon imprisoned), whereupon Fénelon churned out his *Maximes des Saints sur la vie intérieure* (1697) (the Galles owned an excerpted version called *La pratique de la vie intérieure*) that was countered by Bossuet's *Rélation de la Quietisme;* then came Fénelon's rebuttal, followed by Bossuet's vitriolic *Remarques sur la Réponse de Fénelon* (which the Galles owned). The consequence of this most renowned of religious battles was the removal of Fénelon from court, though not from his diocese of Cambrai, and the effort by Bossuet to get Fénelon's doctrine of pure love condemned in Rome. In what must be regarded as an end run, Innocent XII wrote a brief, not a bull, in which a variety of more extreme Quietist notions were condemned (most of which Fénelon denied anyway), refusing to label the bishop of Cambrai a heretic, and sent it to France, knowing that the Parlement would not register it. Fénelon thus lost at court, but not in the hearts of many French, including the Galles. It is also interesting that Bossuet's last two works, the *Méditations* and the *Élévations*—his efforts to find a path to God in the heart, where love should be the core of belief—had a place in the Galles' library.[38]

Other works on the shelves spoke to a religion of the heart, pastoralism, and lyricism. Olivier de Serres's *Théâtre d'agriculture* (1601) was one of the most widely read works of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Regarded on one hand as the manual par excellence for proper "farm management" based on his own experiments in crop rotation, stall feeding, planted meadowland, and so on (advice, alas, that was little followed by his fellow seigneurs), it was, on the other, a hymn to the aesthetic of rustic life—perhaps the key source in the efflorescence of lyricism in the course of the seventeenth century. The simplicity of faith, the centrality of a loving God solicitous of all His creatures, and a charitable heart were the cornerstones of the life and work of Saint Francis de Sales, whose main writing, *Introduction à la vie dévotte* (1634), the Galles possessed in two editions. One of his disciples, Antoine Caignet, found a place in their library as well, with his *Année pastorale* and *La morale religieuse*. The great Jesuit preacher Louis Bourdaloue specialized in bringing down the great, puffed up with their pretensions, in the name of the simple virtues of faith and love. This "procureur-général de la morale" preached Sales to the worldly while Deshoulières

38. In a huge literature, the most thorough exploration of the conflict and the foundations of Quietism is François-Xavier Cruche and Jacques Le Brun, eds., *Fénelon, mystique et politique, 1699–1999: Actes du colloque internationale de Stasbourg pour le troisième centenaire de la publication du Télémaque et de la condemnation des Maximes des saints* (Paris, 2004). See also Sabine Melchior-Bonnet, *Fénelon* (Paris, 2008); and Laurence Devilliers, *Fénelon, une philosophie de l'infini* (Paris, 2007).

preached of quiet faith deep in nature. A fine edition of Bourdaloue's *Avent et Carême* stood next to the lyric *Théologie* of Louis Habert, the cousin and counselor of the brothers Habert, pioneering poets of French modernism. Finally, there was the master poet Jean-Baptiste Rousseau, regarded in the Galles' age as France's greatest lyricist. (He was "le Grand Rousseau" until overwhelmed by Jean-Jacques.) No one brought the soaring poetry of the Old Testament, especially the Psalms, into allegorical French better that he. His "Odes sacrées" and his "Cantiques" were the principal collections in the Galles' *Oeuvres choisis*. He also had a soul mate in the lesser poet Gresset, whom the Galles found to their taste, and they were, for a while, his only publisher.[39]

Although it is impossible to say what actually occurred in the heads of Jean-Marie, Perrine, or Marc (and their elders) as they absorbed such writings, we can speak, perhaps, of a certain discourse permeating their world. Later hints in Jean-Marie's letters, those of his father and of uncle Jean-Nicolas, of aunt Jacquette Bertin and Perrine, Marc's forays into art and literature, as well as impressions from all their unfolding life stories, link with ideas and values evident in their books. Here is Jean-Marie laughing at an old Audran *cousine* who promises to give herself to God and virginity should she survive an illness; there he is embroiled in a romance with a clearly liberated *courtière de commerce* in Paris who lampoons the pretensions of pomp and wealth; here is Jacquette Bertin Galles calling on self-reliance, not God, in the face of misfortune, and there is Perrine unceremoniously walking out on her wastrel husband. And here they all are delighting in the innocence and simplicity of the rural idyll (Marc drawing and writing of it) that would be realized by the following generation in their beloved country retreats of Plessis-Kaer and Pont-Sal near Auray as well as at Truhélin in Arradon. Whether the darker side of Deshouilières's vision hung over them is hard to say, but certainly their life (and death) experiences might resonate with it.

But there was also the Jesuit presence in their lives, and it certainly spoke to belief in a transcendent God, the legitimate role of the Roman Catholic Church, and a politics of benevolent authority—all of which were deep-seated in the intellectual outlook of this family. But it did not contradict either a Quietist penchant toward the acceptance of God's creation in all its variety or a scientific understanding of its wonders. The key works in their library in this regard were Rohault's *Traité de physique* (first published in 1671), Abbé Pluche's extraordinary *Spectacle de la Nature*, and Père Regnault's *Logique en forme d'entretiens*. Jaques Rohault, the son-in-law and chosen continuator of Descartes's most famous exponent, Claude Clercelier, besides introducing the reader to the essential principles of Cartesian mathematics and physics, also sought to reconcile the physics of structure and extension with Christian doctrine, specifically transubstantiation. Another major problem of the Cartesian tradition, animal instinct versus the human capacity to think as the defining characteristic of our species, found a vigorous and original defense in Rohault, which again validated Christian dogma. A later edition of this work (we are not certain what edition the Galles possessed) sought to integrate Cartesian and Newtonian physics, but retained

39. None of these figures has received much scholarly attention since the nineteenth century. The only recent study is Aimé Richard, *Bourdaloue (1632–1704): L'orateur des Rois* (Tournai, 1995). My assessments are based on the great overviews cited in note 33.

the essential notion of the former allowing for the immanence of God in all the forces of nature. This notion was the principal theme in the work of Antoine Pluche. This magnum opus first published in 1732 (it stretched to eight volumes by 1750) enjoyed a huge circulation, especially among its intended audience, young people, with the avowed goal, according to its subtitle, "to pique their curiosity and form their tastes." As R. R. Palmer argued, Pluche, as a believing Christian popular in Jesuit educational institutions, but with Jansenist sympathies, likely reached the widest audience of any writer on science of the age, "since many people could read him with confidence who would distrust every statement made by a known infidel." The *Spectacle* was nothing less than a summa of all aspects of nature, physical and biological, culminating in "man considered in himself, as a social being, and as a creature of God." The world in its supreme logic as proved in science had been created for humanity, and our discovery of nature's laws gave concrete substance to God's promise of human "dominion" over nature. Perhaps most important, the world should be seen as a constant source of enjoyment. The pleasures were God-given, and the human pursuit of happiness was perfectly consonant with Christian belief. Pluche's final volume was an extensive vindication of Christianity as the only pathway among all revealed religions to the scientific understanding of God's plan.[40]

Regnault, a Jesuit of immense learning, unequivocally defended Descartes against Newton in several carefully argued and widely read scientific studies. His *Logique* (1742) summed them up and proceeded to update Arnauld and Nicole without substantially changing the technical foundations of their *Art de penser*. Although the Jesuit-Jansenist battles raged on institutionally, in the realm of philosophy and science, both perspectives, being Catholic, united in their mistrust of "English ideas." Another area where such integration occurred was in grammar (it would be anachronistic to call it "linguistics," which is what it was), where the Jesuit Father Claude Buffier, a favorite of the Galles, drew heavily on Arnauld and Lancelot's theory of signs to develop a grammatology that was put to practical use in his invention of *vers artificiel*, a method of memory enhancement. In his *Géographie universelle* (which the Galles owned along with the *Grammaire*), he applied his program. Thus, while the Galles had their sermons by Bourdaloue and Molinier, their works in theology leaning toward scholasticism, and their complete Council of Trent in Latin, they certainly did not bury their heads in the sand of some outdated Jesuit ultramontanism, but cast their net widely to build a "modern" faith to which their later generations would adhere as well.[41]

40. The subtitle as translated in *Spectacle de la nature, or Nature display'd: Being Discourses on Such Particulars of Natural History, as Were Thought Most Proper to Excite the Curiosity, and Form the Minds of Youth*, trans. Mr. Humpreys, vol. 2 (London, 1737). The complete edition with which the Galles family would have been most familiar was that of 1752: Noël Antoine Pluche, *Le spectacle de la nature*, 8 vols. (Francfort, en Foire, chez Bassompierre, Liége & Vanden Berghen, Bruxelles, 1752). The quotation concerning "man" is the subtitle of volumes 5 to 7. The Robert R. Palmer quotation is from *Catholics and Unbelievers in Eighteenth-Century France*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1961), 106.

41. On this question, see above all Palmer, *Catholics and Unbelievers*. There has been a recent interest in Abbé Pluche and his views of nature; see Benoît de Baere, *Trois introductions à l'Abbé Pluche: Sa vie, son monde, ses livres* (Geneva, 2001); and Françoise Gevrey, Julie Boch, and Jean-Louis Haquette, eds., *Écrire la*

Thus we find Jean-Marie Galles amidst the clutter of a bookshop and intellectual haven in a small provincial town. He was well fortified: the three languages of his trade and a good deal of their literatures were under his belt; he had ingested Jesuit logic and culture; and he knew his lead and his paper. Although he had the right to move directly into his mastership, the family decided that he needed a Paris apprenticeship, so off he went for a year of polishing with his uncle's master, Chairehélier. On June 6, 1759, he was received as *maître imprimeur-libraire de Vannes*, but soon would be on his way back to the capital in the move that would begin to chart the Galles' place on a larger map.

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nature au XVIIIe siècle: Autour de l'Abbé Pluche (Paris, 2006). See also several articles by Cynthia Koepp, the most recent being "Advocating for Artisans: The Abbé Pluche's *Spectacle de la nature*," in *The Idea of Work in Europe from Antiquity to Modern Times*, ed. Josef Ehmer and Catharina Lis (Aldershot, 2009). The other figures mentioned here, though like Pluche widely read in the intellectual battles of the eighteenth century, have not merited modern individual biographies. See note 33.

CHAPTER TWO

Bourgeois de Vannes, Bourgeois de Paris

Jean-Marie's way was paved by his uncle and godfather, Jean-Nicolas, under circumstances not at all of the latter's choosing. For Jean-Nicolas, whose partnership with his brother had evolved by 1760 into separate shops and crushing good business for each, was awakened in the early hours of February 15 in that year by the clatter of the guard in the place Henri IV below, arrested without ceremony, and hauled off to the Bastille in Paris. Sartine, the *lieutenant-général de police*, all in making sure the new inmate from Brittany was well treated and fed, scanned his correspondence for evidence against him while resolutely refusing to inform him of the charge. Galles noted that many printers had "done much worse things" than he (so he must have had a suspicion of the charge) and burst out in frustration in a letter to his wife, "Is this the fruit of all the work of our worthy ancestors?"[1]

Kinsmen (and Women) to the Rescue: The Saga of Jean-Nicolas Galles

A wonderful correspondence still in private hands was brought to light by Vannes's preeminent historian, Bertrand Frélaut, in 1990. Jean-Nicolas and his wife, Jacquette Bertin, exchanged ninety letters during his two-and-one-half months at the Bastille and the six months he spent in and around Paris while his trial proceeded on its weary way and he scouted for new business. They provide our first deep draught from the barrel of Galles history.

How did Jean-Nicolas get into such a fix? Unquestionably the more energetic of the two brothers, he was not always precise, it appears, in checking details and potential illegalities in his business transactions. Officials questioned him about a variety of matters, including pending conflicts with rivals in Vannes, before zeroing in on the heart of the matter. It seems that a monk named Lacoste had been doing a brisk commerce in fake lottery tickets (a ubiquitous practice in old regime France) and had also had some printing done by Galles, including *billets* (Jean-Nicolas said he had no idea what they were for) that Lacoste peddled. As it turned out, the enterprising abbé, who was convicted and sent to the galleys for life, personally cleared Jean-Nicolas of

1. Bertrand Frélaut, "Un Vannetais à la Bastille: Jean-Nicolas Galles à la Bastille en 1760 d'après sa correspondance inédite," *Mémoires de la Société polymathique du Morbihan* 116 (1990): 173–83. All quotations from the correspondence are from this source.

all wrongdoing. He also denied giving up Galles's name at any time during his interrogation, so the printer's accuser—never revealed—was someone else, perhaps the bookbinder Jean Lamoré, with whom the Galles had a long jurisdictional conflict. In any case, Jean-Nicolas (whose actual guilt seems possible) used every means at his disposal both in Vannes and in Paris, including the occasional bribe, to convince justice that he had been duped. He calculated his total costs to be 673 livres. Not only did he walk away with his reputation intact, but also he negotiated with Malesherbes, the grand censor of print, permission to publish several new titles.

But it is in the details revealed by the couple's letters that we penetrate their world and understand what really happened. The Galles family were important people in Vannes and becoming more so. And from this apparent disaster they plucked advantages that could hardly have been foreseen. First of all, we learn that relations between the two brothers had been strained by events unknown, although they seem to have had something to do with money. Moreover, Jacquette complained that Nicolas panicked during the current crisis: "He lost his head; it's a good thing I kept mine, for I've got need of it." At one point in July, Jean-Nicolas, reacting to his brother's reluctance to help finance his stay in Paris (all told, the cost came to around 2,500 livres), told his wife it was a sorry day when "my brother, my father [recall that their father died young, and Nicolas was six years the senior], who should be [our] protector, becomes our executioner. *Quelle abomination*!" Jacquette willingly reminded her husband: "Well, you've always said that since he doesn't look like you at all, he was probably exchanged by his wet nurse." Relenting somewhat, Jean-Nicolas replied, "I love my brother despite his weaknesses and flaws; he is good; he merely lacks wit [*l'esprit*], and that's something."

The two men were certainly different. Nicolas had had a difficult life. Sickly even as a child, he had lost his wife early and never remarried. He moved quickly to incorporate his only child, Jean-Marie, into the business and did everything to procure a good education for him. We sense, as noted previously, a rectitude and punctiliousness in his affairs. He also had been the first in the family to accede to local office, becoming a member for the *corporations* of the city council. His later correspondence with his beloved niece, goddaughter, and wife's namesake, Perrine, reveals a kindly, solicitous, courtly, and infinitely boring old man, while her letters show that she adores him. Jean-Nicolas, by contrast, clearly possessed a more vibrant personality. His letters are always interesting, clever, occasionally a bit salacious, and, in Frélaut's judgment, even "lyrical." Later correspondence suggests that it was more Jean-Nicolas than his father with whom Jean-Marie would talk about poetry and philosophy. Uncle and nephew also shared a passion for their commerce and had no misgivings about using their distant kin and influential friends to advance their interests. The fact that the brothers were operating separate enterprises tells us something, perhaps, about their different styles. And the conservatism of the elder was abundantly evident in the crisis of 1760.

If Nicolas had perhaps married "down" to absorb a rival print works, it fell to his brother to make the first marriage, celebrated in Saint-Salomon church on January 23, 1748, in this family beyond the narrow confines of the trade. To be sure, the earlier strategies had borne the fruit Jean-Nicolas praised in 1760, but he had set off on a grander route. The family was certainly wealthy enough; they were smart, even eru-

dite in a provincial sort of way. And Jean-Nicolas was handsome—a good catch in every respect, save perhaps his origins in the trades. But he had already achieved the title *noble homme*, an accolade connoting wealth, education, and local prominence offered by the municipality and confirmed by the *sénéschal*, though definitely not conferring nobility. Jacquette Bertin (sometimes spelled Bertain) was a strong-willed woman, not beautiful, but attractive and well educated, for her letters show a lively mind and a large vocabulary. She was the daughter of Marc Bertin, the eldest of three brothers from a line of *notaires*. Although no profession was given in the marriage register, the tax rolls of 1760 list him as a *propriétaire*, while Claude Bertin was Vannes's third-wealthiest *notaire* and Jean-François Bertin a priest who probably influenced the appointment of a kinsman as bishop of Vannes in 1746. Jacquette's mother was Perrinne [*sic*] Oillic, whose brother Jean-Vincent was an apothecary and a witness to the wedding. His son Joachim followed him in his profession, while a daughter married Alexis Joseph Lorvol, a physician who became the Galles' family doctor and briefly mayor of Vannes during the Consulat. This circle into which the Galles were now drawn by marriage largely represented the intellectual professions, though one family appearing among the signatories at both the Galles and Oillic weddings, the Danets, were grain merchants, the wealthiest group among Vannes's *roturiers*. The first child of this union, Perrine, was born in November 1748, while Jean-Baptiste-Marc arrived a year later. Shortly thereafter, Jean-Nicolas took his brother's seat on the Vannes municipal council and sailed with favorable winds until 1760.[2]

As it turned out, Jacquette and her connections made an enormous difference in Jean-Nicolas's escape from the clutches of the law. First, her moral support: when the prisoner was feeling his bleakest toward mid-March and wrote her a dolorous poem whining for God's help, she replied to her "bonhomme Galles" that "if God gives us crosses to bear, he also gives us the strength to carry them." Thereafter, a new determination and confidence appear in his reports. Meanwhile, she made sure that the right people wrote the right letters to Paris: "the Monseigneur [Bishop Bertin], his sister the marquise de Fumel, the abbé Duplessix, the Chevalier de Saint-Georges" were on her list. There were also a number of influential Vannetais in Paris, mainly from legal circles, who came to his aid (two, a Saint and a Lallement, were ancestors of future Galles marriage partners). At the same time, an established affinal kin connection played a critical role. The Audrans of Gobelins had by this time reached the pinnacle of the Parisian art world, with aristocratic and royal enthusiasts of their work. Through them, Jean-Nicolas would later tour Versailles, be presented to Louis XV, and even converse with Madame de Pompadour when she came in to order a tapestry. That he also met with Malesherbes personally could only have occurred through the good offices of

2. ADM, 4 E 260 (mariages, January 23, 1748 [Galles = Bertin]; baptêmes, November 18, 1749 [Jean-Marc Galles, officiated by Monseigneur l'Évêque de Vannes (Bertin)]; mariages, July 2, 1771 [Joachim Oillic = Rosalie Le Drevo]). ADM, C (Capitations) 1760 (*non-classés*). Bishop Charles-Jean-François Bertin undertook the mission of expunging Jansenism in the *diocèse*, incurring wide enmity among its partisans, which persisted until his death in 1774. His precise family connections in Vannes are not clear (he was born in Périgueux in 1712), but the fact that he personally baptized Marc Galles is a likely sign of some relationship to his mother, Jacquette.

Michel or Claude IV Audran. Whatever the guilt or innocence of our hero, his kinship network (and a few *pots au vin*) brought him home in triumph.

And none too soon. In Jean-Nicolas (and Jacquette) we see for the first time another characteristic that marks this family: strong conjugal love. Whatever practicality and advantage marriage might involve, in the bourgeois world the Galles were entering, love, or at least an attraction likely to grow into it, was increasingly a prerequisite. We know nothing of the courtship of this couple, so it would be premature to place them in the orbit of romance that certainly embraced later generations, but they celebrated their twelfth year of marriage in a feast of amorous exchanges. Now it may well be that absence made the heart grow fonder and trials at both ends made them cling more closely. As Jean-Nicolas wrote (with a certain irony) in late August, "I must say in all fairness, dear love, that I have never known you so lovable as when I am deprived of your sight." Nevertheless, he is effusive: "You, who are my life, my happiness, and my all, love me as much as I love you"; or "I will call you to the tribunal of love and sentence you a fine of which your heart will pay the principal and feeling the interest"; or "Once in your arms I will never let you go for a single minute"; or, finally, amidst the artists at the Gobelins (July 30): "There is no painter who can express the nobility of your eyes, the beige of your soft skin, the pearls of your teeth, and the ensemble of quiet mien that becomes your sex so well and that you possess so eminently. The more I think about your features, *objets de ma tendresse*, the more my desires are aroused and augmented. . . . What! to live tranquilly, loved and cherished by the best woman in the world, to give to her all my attention, to serve her and to render her love for love, is this not true happiness?" Her words to to him are generally more practical but show affection (and "tender feelings") without the same sexual expressiveness. The word *tendresse* leaps from these pages and opens a refrain that will be illustrated in depth as we explore the interiors of the Galles' evolving habitus. Maurice Daumas, using largely literary sources, argues persuasively in *La tendresse amoureuse* that from some time in the later seventeenth century, a sea change occurred in what he calls "le goût amoureuse," the discourse of love's very nature, evolving from the male-initiated *geste*, or deed of seduction, to the primacy of the couple in which mutual feelings of tenderness initiate and fulfill the relationship of love. An essential equality between women and men in interpersonal relationships, which Daumas believes is an important moment in the history of equality in general, thus emerges. This is a topic—along with its manifold implications for patriarchal authority and political power—central to the themes of this book and will be treated extensively.[3]

3. Maurice Daumas, *La tendresse amoureuse, XVIe–XXIIIe siècles* (Paris, 1995). It is rather hard to attach a timetable to the growth of the notion of *tendresse* and its significance in conjugal relationships. In Christine Adams's book *A Taste for Comfort and Status: A Bourgeois Family in Eighteenth-Century France* (University Park, PA, 2000), the marital relationship between mother and father receives little attention in the several hundred letters that she works with, forcing her to conclude simply, "It seems that they enjoyed an affectionate and mutually respectful marriage" (123). But these letters reveal powerful bonds between siblings, especially between two sisters, neither of whom married, and their brothers, indeed as surrogate spouses. But in analyzing this relationship in a fascinating article, she stops just short of imaging an (unfulfilled) erotic bond. This question will be explored at length in chapter 4, where questions of incestuous sibling desire arise insistently. Adams also deals with a reality whereby only one of the sons married, and

Bonhomme Galles, however, appears not to have been totally ensnared in conjugal bliss, for the tastes of the libertine can also be spotted in these materials. On the back of one of his letters to Jacquette, apparently scribbled as it was waiting to be mailed from a post house, were several somewhat shocking lines signed by Madame Denville, a friend of an Audran cousin, with whom Jean-Nicolas and the cousin shared a coach on a trip to Le Havre: "I cannot, Madame, dispense with telling you that your husband is a rogue and that you must have enormous constancy and virtue to live with and desire the return of a man who makes himself so generally detested. Like you, I have known a husband and swear to you that if he had resembled yours, he would soon have been lodged at St. Yon [a popular destination for subjects of *lettres de cachet*]." Whatever one might say about the exaggerated style that often marked eighteenth-century letter writing, it is clear that Madame Denville did not have a pleasant encounter with the printer from Vannes. Exactly what he did is not clear, but it sounds as if there was some outrageous sexual proposal—or worse. (Indeed, her tone reminds us of nothing so much as the endless vituperations against one Domitian de Sade, so artfully assembled by Maurice Lever.)[4] There is also an outside chance that he repulsed *her* advances, and this is her revenge. But Galles himself let slip a couple of remarks in his otherwise impeccably sensitive letters to his wife. Upon seeing the king, he used the curious phrase "a proud *gaillard*" in describing him and later wrote of Madame de Pompadour: "Now there's a morsel worthy of a King; and certainly ours has had a good number of them. Mortal like any other, he always lacked something in his quest for happiness. And he is more needful than the shoemaker at the corner. If, like me, he had loved his wife, he would have found there the summit of his pleasures." Indeed. Elsewhere, Jean-Nicolas allows strangely inapt phrases of a libidinal sort to slip into his (as I've said, always interesting) prose. For example, in commenting about a marriage proposal made by a poor relative of his that was turned down by Jacquette's *cousine* Mademoiselle Le Lièvre, a penniless beauty, he says he's not surprised that there are four more lined up: "Virtue, my four gallants, is not in piety; my faith is in fine gallantry!" The young woman's mother, a widow, also had a proposal from a Monsieur Kerio, and Jean-Nicolas could not resist this quip: "You [Jacquette] didn't

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did so late, posing the question whether this was a matter of saving the patrimony or of the overpowering emotional pressure of the domestic bond. See Christine Adams, "Devoted Companions or Surrogate Spouses? Sibling Relations in Eighteenth-Century France," in *Visions and Revisions of Eighteenth-Century France*, ed. Christine Adams, Jack R. Censer, and Lisa Jane Graham (University Park, PA, 1997), 59–76. For parallel enthusiasm for clearly sexual marital love (fifty years ahead), see Anne Verjus and Denise Davidson, *Le roman conjugal: Chroniques de la vie familiale à l'époque de la Révolution et l'Empire* (Paris, 2011), chap. 3, "S'aimer, le dire et le faire," 41–67. The couple, Antoine and Magdeleine, are already married ten years; his letters reveal "un amour intense, un désir presque impérieux, une tendresse dont on ne peut douter," made all the more powerful by a "cruel absence" (41–42). Lacking Magdeleine's letters, we cannot gauge her sentiments, unlike Jacquette's and later Adèle's, the one rather muted, the other less so. It does appear, however, that married women were more reticent about committing their desires to paper (or ordered their letters burned upon receipt). But between courting couples? See my discussion in chapter 4.

4. Maurice Lever, *Marquis de Sade: A Biography*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (London, 1995). On libertinism and its adventures, see Olivier Blanc, *L'amour à Paris au temps de Louis XVI* (Paris, 2002). In general, on the subject of love and sex in the eighteenth century, see my introduction, note 67 and Bibliographical Note 8.

tell me whether the old girl still has *le cul chaud* [roughly, "hot crotch"]. If so, she must have the devil in her body."

Although he seems to have been regarded as something of a country bumpkin by the Audrans, who joked about the sobriquet *bonhomme*, Jean-Nicolas was well received by them, and he often went out with "ces Mrs" for tours of Paris, dinners, and walks in the parks. He admired their "simplicity, kindness, and sincerity" and many times remarked on how deeply grateful he was for their "generous hospitality" and their "valuable assistance." Galles was not enamored of the capital, however, envying Jacquette and the family "à votre aise" in Vannes, while "Paris est l'enfer des hommes." He spent endless hours running from office to office, court to court, and waiting in grimy, smelly antechambers for an audience. (There is the ring of *Bleak House* here.) Parisians were "pushy, insolent, and ignorant," and "society" satisfied him not at all: a dinner, delicious as it might have been, was ruined by his hostess and her friends, "dames sottement précieuses et indécemment peintes" whose only cares were "un boulevard, un chiffon, une mode, la comédie de jour."[5] He didn't like Parisian printers much, either, finding the lot "true ignoramuses, fools, braggarts, and the worst of scoundrels." Galles was shocked by the level of poverty he found everywhere side by side with the pretensions of the wealthy—gendered female. Ah, how he longed for the simple pleasures of "*mon village* and to spend my days as before *auprès de toi, ma bonne femme*, and among my dear children whom I love and worship." If we cannot weigh accurately how much of this was for home consumption, there is little doubt that it reflects values of a provincial who, whatever dreams of libertinage he might harbor, was not ready for the shock of Paris and rued, as did several of his favorite poets, the crush and pretensions of urban life.

Jean-Nicolas Galles remained *un honnête homme de bourg*. Within that context, he and his good wife ran a solid business. At the time, they had four presses and two *compagnons* and prospered even in his absence. Profits not only managed to cover his considerable expenses in Paris but also kept things comfortable enough at home. Jacquette did complain about the lack of discipline of their workers ("never have I appreciated more that 'the eye of the bourgeois [boss] is useful,' as you have often said"), but clearly handled their business affairs well, rounding up influence on her husband's behalf. Interestingly, printing reported less advantage than the retail shop. As she put it: "If I didn't have my [*sic*] boutique near Main-Lièvre, I don't know what I would have done. [It] brought in 600 livres [this month] without counting credit sales. And I had neither priests nor students." They also viewed themselves as a cut above most of the Galles relatives. About the Galpins, though descendants of Audrans but now plying trades such as tailor and shoemaker, Jean-Nicolas remarked, apropos of the double marriage discussed earlier, that "thanks to this branch of our family, we are going to have a bunch of beggars as collaterals." Although ready to moralize about Parisian society, this local bourgeois could be snooty at home.

5. The feminization of aristocracy, the condemnation of "preciousness," and the distaste for "society" are prominent themes in later eighteenth-century literature (and not necessarily "bourgeois"). Rousseau may be an influence here, but the Galles relate to a deeper, more religious, lyrical tradition, as we have seen.

It did not take long for Jean-Nicolas Galles to realize that whatever his personal misgivings about the capital, there was money to be made there. So it was that immediately after the celebration of the New Year of 1761, his nephew Jean-Marie, aged twenty-three, went off to become the representative of the Imprimerie-Librairie Galles in Paris. As we know, the young man was perfectly trained for the job, and his uncle had already successfully treated with Chancelier Malesherbes for new business. Although Jean-Marie would continue to search for publishing contracts, his main work was to sell Galles books in Paris and to buy wholesale from Parisian publishers for the family's Vannes bookshop. He would also serve as agent on the spot in his uncle's epic struggle to retain the Galles' monopoly on publishing and bookselling in their city. It is not clear at this point to what extent Nicolas Galles remained active in the trade; Jean-Marie exchanged only a few letters with his father, mostly concerned with personal matters.

Kin and Connection in the Book Trade

But here the boy is—in Paris! "I've hardly had a chance to see our family since my arrival," he writes his uncle. "The first two days were taken up with getting my cartons through customs. I don't know by what bad luck I was so scrupulously attended: they sent my trunk to *la chambre syndicale* [the printers' guildhall] because it held so many books. I was scared to death about the reckoning. All went well: they didn't inspect it."[6] As it turned out, Jean-Marie had good luck, for in this time of serious political conflict, control of books intensified and fines were hefty. And "Galles" may have been a name remembered by some officials.

After settling in with the Audrans at the Gobelins, Jean-Marie set to work immediately. Galles already had an agent in Paris named Barbuty, who handled most of their affairs and had done an excellent job in overseeing their recent acquisition of *Les Journaux Ecclésiastiques*, a periodical publication that excerpted church publications. Barbuty also served as a buyer and expediter of materials and books as well as personal items for the family. But Jean-Marie now dealt directly with some clients, particularly if the printing was done in Vannes or books were purchased wholesale. Thus we see him conferring with Monsieur Barthe at the Paris office of *Les Gazettes*, another periodical published by Galles. Here he is chez Monsieur Valeyre to buy a copy of "*Civilités*, which is for use in the *Écoles chrétiennes*," hoping to add it to their list of school textbooks. But Jean-Marie had to make sure it was acceptable, so off he went "the same day chez M. Malzherbes [*sic*] who assigned me a censor," who, upon examination, "gave me his approbation, then back to the Magistrate and received a Permission in your name, a Privilege, he told me, not being necessary." In a trade lac-

6. The heaviest concentration of Jean-Marie's letters to be retained is a total of thirty-four from 1761 through the summer of 1763. This first one is dated only "Janvier 1761," probably around the twelfth. ADM, 2 J 76. All citations in this section, unless otherwise noted, are from this group. A few of the letters have been excerpted as "Notes biographiques, Jean-Marie Galles, correspondant de Pierre Poivre," on a website dedicated to Poivre, an eighteenth-century adventurer and spice trader from Angers (www.pierre-poivre.fr/Notice-Galles.pdf). Material provided by Vannetais historian Bertrand Frélaut.

erated with abuses, Jean-Marie took the side of the regulators: "*La Librairie* is so badly conducted here that it's the *colporteurs* [hawkers, peddlers, usually unlicensed] who control commerce in books; they even come to Malsherbes, who takes as principle that the business should be Free and without Privilege, and who receives all who present themselves alike; D'Emeri, the Inspector of Police [for the trade], has reserved for himself alone the right to sell illicit books, and that's a sad thing. Such is the state of affairs."[7] Malesherbes and his creatures thus had it both ways. While he can be lauded, perhaps, as a friend of the free exchange of ideas (and he undoubtedly contributed to the Enlightenment in this sense), he could also arbitrarily censor those he did not like, open the way for bribes, and create an underworld of corruption.[8] Making his way through the minefield of the trade, Jean-Marie seems to have done his work well and even routinized it, for most of his more detailed discussion of business matters dates from the first half of 1761.

Another part of his job was to keep a close eye on politics and culture in the capital in order to gauge what books might be in demand back home. His uncle also informed him of new customers, thus alerting him to the market in Vannes. For instance, they salivate over the arrival of a new *grand-vicaire*, the abbé Coetpeantois, a former captain in the Gardes françaises and "a man of great merit, . . . rich, and known to buy many books." The big issues in 1761 were the weakening place of France in Europe amid the disasters of the Seven Years' War and the growing pressure to expel the Jesuits. Jean-Marie offers no opinions about most matters, just factual reports. Many relate one way or another to the book trade. Thus a postscript in January 1761 notes that "Mirabeau has been jailed for his book on Taxes [*Théorie de l'impôt*] and a bookseller, Héripaut on the rue Neuve, has been closed down." The ministerial shakeup and the responses of *parlementaires* of early 1761 receive a few noncommittal sentences. He reports the edict condemning the Jesuits without comment and sends a copy of it to his uncle (May 11 and 30, 1761). His concern begins to mount only when its impact starts to hit the schools: by April of the following year, Louis le Grand in Paris has been "fermé" by the disappearance of its Jesuit faculty, and many other institutions across the country are seeking replacements, which naturally raises fears that sales to the Collège de Vannes might be hurt.[9] Deaths of famous people are regularly mentioned, undoubtedly to keep Vannes abreast of potential sales of biographies and

7. Jean-Marie's insights were in a letter of February 8, 1761.

8. On Malesherbes and his role in shaking up the restrictive policies of the absolutist state, beginning in 1761, see Daniel Roche, *France in the Enlightenment*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA, 1998), 277–78. On his relations with Rousseau and his place in the Enlightenment, see *Correspondance Jean-Jacques Rousseau et Chrétien-Guillaume de Lamoignon de Malesherbes*, ed. Barbara de Negroni (Paris, 1991); and Jean Des Cars, *Malesherbes: Gentilhomme des Lumières* (Paris, 1994). On both sides of this question, see the more recent book by Raymond Birn, *Royal Censorship of Books in Eighteenth-Century France* (Stanford, 2012).

9. On the contradictory place of the Jesuits in French society and intellectual life and the causes of their expulsion, see Catherine M. Northeast, *The Parisian Jesuits and the Enlightenment, 1700–1762* (Oxford, 1991); on the interplay of religion and politics in these years, see Dale Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution* (Princeton, 1998). For a famous contemporary analysis of the suppression, see Jean Le Rond d'Alembert, *Sur la destruction des Jésuites en France par un auteur désintéressé* (n.p., 1765).

memoirs. Only the death of Maréchal Belle-Îsle, the arrogant secretary of state for war, whose record clearly left something to be desired, provoked an editorial remark: "He is not at all regretted." Reflecting the upheavals of the times, here are some of the titles Jean-Marie had shipped to Vannes (letter of October 16, 1761): *Les arrêts du Parlement, Remonstrances au Parlement, La France au Parlement, Les Jesuits demasqués, Declaration contre les Jesuits, Portaits de Benoist XIV* (the current pope), and only two unrelated religious-philosophical works, *L'innoculation de bon sens* and a cheap edition of Boethius's *Consolations*.

Because of his residence and constant interaction with the Audrans, Jean-Marie took a lively interest in the arts and let his uncle know about interesting developments. The young man considered his famous third cousins "our family" and maintained contact with two other relatives—the Audrans of rue Saint-Jacques and the Audrans of rue Saint-Honoré, both well placed to open further contacts in Parisian society. As we shall see, Jean-Marie did not at all share his uncle's aversion to Parisian ways and rapidly assimilated. But the Gobelins—whose name he spelled correctly—provided his main stimuli during his first year in the city. The Gobelins works had by this time replaced all others, including Beauvais, as the principal tapestry manufactory in France. Both Michel Audran and his son Claude IV ("Audran fils" in official documents)[10] interacted daily with the most renowned painters of the day, exchanging designs and ideas. For Boucher, the Coypels, Van Loo, and many other contemporary painters, to be immortalized in a Gobelins ranked as high as a prize at the annual Salon. The Manufacture royale was subsidized by the government to the tune of 1.2 million livres annually. Oversight of this vast sum and its uses fell to Audran père.[11]

Jean-Marie's relationship with the Audrans was intimate and profitable. Early on, he negotiated with "M. Audran . . . our project for *Les Estampes de la Journée chrétien*," a booklet of engravings and devotional practices. Audran agreed to "underwrite this item" and helped to find a cheap local printer. Jean-Marie also took an interest in major works undertaken at the Gobelins. For example, on August 22, 1761, he wrote, "Le Romain works on a delightful piece after M. Boucher representing a shepherdess sleeping in a hedgerow; this will be a chef d'oeuvre, all in wool without couture and the weft in silk; it will be two and a half feet high and two feet across," adding, "If any connoisseur of Vannes covets a similar piece, he can be its owner for a thousand Écus." In the August letter Jean-Marie reported excitedly, "In M. Audran's atelier, they are just finishing the Venus of M. Boucher for M. le marquis de Marigny," and later noted that he "has begun a large tapestry portrait of the king" commissioned by a regular

10. See Archives nationales (hereafter AN), F 12 639A.

11. Ibid. Petition to the *contrôleur des Batiments du Roi*, de Marigny, filed by Audran père et fils, Neilson, and Cozette in 1764, raising their concerns about rumored cuts in their budget; document dated June 11, 1764. On the place of Gobelins and the Audrans in the Paris art world, see Mobilier national de France, *Les Gobelins: Trois siècles de tapisserie* (Paris, 1965), 31–37, 55–68, 93–95; Thomas Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven, 1985), 58–72. For specific works, see E. Gerspach, *Répertoire détaillé des tapisseries des Gobelins executés de 1662 à 1892: Histoire, commentaires, marques* (Paris, 1893); for Boucher, 24, 25, 31, 142–43, 145, 149–58. Many of Boucher's works remained models for tapestries throughout the nineteenth century. The three Coypels had seventeen of their works produced as tapestries and Van Loo a dozen. This repertoire lists scores of works by or overseen by the Audrans.

visitor, Madame de Pompadour. Jean-Marie also made the rounds of galleries in Paris and attended the Salons, assessing cultural trends. He was finding a spiritual home in the Parisian art world, especially as he formed a deep friendship with Gabriel Audran, who "has just become a Maitre ez Arts à l'Université and is now preoccupied with drawing, in order to move on to engraving or painting."[12] This young man served as Jean-Marie's guide to art and to the society of like-minded youth. Jean-Marie mentions, for example, being introduced to Le Texier and discussing his work at an informal gathering (July 11, 1761).

Young Galles certainly came to love Paris and to gain a wide circle of friends. Already, after just a year in the city, he makes his "New Year's rounds" to his "many friends and clients. All send their best wishes to M. Galles" in Vannes. What was Jean-Marie's outlook on life? We only have hints, but they are interesting. Although not religiously indifferent, he was clearly impatient with what the philosophes would call superstition. When Audran of the rue Saint-Jacques died shortly after Jean-Marie's arrival, her papers revealed that as her illness set in, she had taken a vow of chastity in seeking God's aid. Said the young man to his uncle, "Certainly the Lord would not accept such ridiculous conditions—virginity after seventeen years of marriage!" At the same time he called for God's blessing on her widower, who had taken her death extremely hard and "was not at all well." Other reactions, already noted, help map his religious values: not a word about the piety of the new *grand-vicaire*, but praise for his reading habits; the Jesuits' plight assessed in terms of its impact on business (a bit of an ingrate, in fact, given the quality of his education); and an eagerness to send off books to the curious that "unmasked" the besieged order.

And we know where Jean-Marie ended up: as a disciple of the postrevolutionary La Harpe, who attempted to reconcile enlightened thought with Christianity, Voltaire with Fénelon. We shall revisit Jean-Marie and La Harpe forty years hence in the context of assessing the family's intellectual universe at that time, but no doubt even at this point he may well have begun to consider this general problem, especially in light of the books examining it that were available in his father's library. And it is also quite possible that he even knew something about La Harpe, who, though two years his junior, had already become a minor sensation, if not for his literary efforts, which were minimal, then as the young bon vivant accused of writing obscene and libelous quatrains about his former schoolmasters at the Collège d'Harcourt, for which he was jailed by Sartine for four months at the same time as Uncle Jean-Nicolas. He emerged from the Fort l'Évêque prison a controversial figure, the talk of the salons, but struggled until the explosive success of his first play, *Le comte de Warwick*, performed at the Comédie-Française in November 1763.[13] Is it possible that Jean-Marie might even have agreed with La Harpe's embrace of Voltaire's emblem of liberation from *L'Épître à Uranie*?

Laissez donc là tous les systèmes,
Sources d'erreurs et de débats;

12. Letters of January and August 8, 1761, November 1762, and several undated letters probably from 1762. On criticism and the art world, see Crow, *Painters*, especially chap. 5.

13. Christopher Todd, *Voltaire's Disciple: Jean-François de La Harpe* (London, 1972), 6–13.

Et, choisissant l'Amour pour maître
Jouissez au lieu de connaître.[14]

We have no sure way of knowing. But Jean-Marie clearly led a worldly life in these years—and on two fronts. The first was mastering the quotidian politics of influence, the art of witty exchange with the right people who, befriended, serve your interests; this he did with complete success in finally triumphing in the battle to fend off Vannetais rival Lamoré that ended before the Conseil d'État. The second was a grand love affair with a thoroughly *mondaine* Parisienne that ended unhappily—so much so that Jean-Marie Galles never married.

The Lamoré affair occupied about half the space of Jean-Marie's correspondence with Vannes, and there is also a considerable public record of the conflict. It was a classic battle over corporate rights, repeated thousands of times under the later old regime. And with proto-Turgotian Malesherbes at the helm of the book trade, if one were to defend monopoly—which had essentially been imposed in Vannes (and many other places) two decades before, to the benefit of the Galles—it would be done by reasoning not legal precedent but power. The problem was simple. Jean Lamoré, *dit* La Forest, a quite competent bookbinder and paper dealer who received his *maîtrise* in Rennes, came to Vannes in 1759 and set up shop as an "Imprimeur-Libraire-Relieur." In the new atmosphere of freedom in the trades, the judge at the Présidial de Vannes ruled against a Galles petition that La Forest be denied the right to do so. Competition provided the key rationale for the decision. So Jean-Marie mounted an offensive in Paris. Lawyers had already told him that the only way to overturn the decision was to discover La Forest selling illicit books or persuading the *intendant* to hear the case and find the judge incompetent. The first proved impossible and, alas, La Forest had better connections with the *intendant* in Rennes than did Galles or the Audrans. So the trick was to get the decision bumped up to the Conseil d'État, which claimed highly contested authority to overrule any legal decision. This was effectuated by a Parisian lawyer close to the Audrans called Guérin, who was owed favors by Malesherbes, was on intimate terms with the Garde des Sceaux (the chief judicial official in the kingdom), and had strong ties with the Palais royal, the stronghold of the collateral branch of the royal family. Exactly how the decision fell into the lap of the Conseil d'État cannot be discerned from official documentation or Jean-Marie's correspondence, but the final decree of June 20, 1763, which set a major precedent by redistributing authority over trade disputes in jurisdictions where no guild existed from the presidial courts to the Conseil d'État (and also denying the Parlements any jurisdiction in these matters), overruled the lower court and ordained that the petition of Galles be accepted, banning La Forest from bookselling, printing, and bookbinding in Vannes and ordering that any future applicants in those professions must apply for permission to do so before the Conseil d'État. It was an executive coup against the judiciary and no doubt contributed to the growing power of the crown and resentment against it.

The Galles monopoly in Vannes was thus confirmed. Jean-Marie, rejoicing at their triumph, also noted, "Our affair caused the Council to undertake major research and

14. Quoted ibid., 6.

[its decision] is going to become general in the kingdom; many printers in Paris have asked me for copies of the disposition of the Decree." As for La Forest, he apparently stayed on in Vannes until his death, perhaps dealing in used books, for we find this pathetic notice in the capitation rolls of 1785: "Les Enfants mineurs du Sieur La Forest, Libraire, 3 liv. 10 s." At the same moment, the Galles were among the highest-assessed taxpayers, at 113 livres.[15]

Jean-Nicolas, alas, was not around to celebrate the victory, for he had died the previous January. It had been a tumultuous two years, and Jean-Marie and his aunt agreed that the case might have broken *bonhomme* Galles's stamina. In his letter to her of January 31, 1763, Jean-Marie sadly recalls his uncle's steady decline, but he was still not prepared for the loss of "a good godfather, a good friend." Saddest of all perhaps, Jean-Nicolas, the would-be libertine, never knew that his nephew was at that very moment involved in a love affair. In his earlier correspondence, Jean-Marie seems to have taken issue with his uncle's pronouncements to his wife on the subject of Parisian women. The most interesting paragraph speaks for itself:

> A little while ago I had a good conversation with M. Duronguet [a friend from Vannes living in Paris]. He said nothing about a marriage in his future. I doubt in fact that he will take a wife from Brittany. He has too many *bonnes amies* in Paris. Newlywed women are so *farouches* [shy, sullen] *chez vous*. And I fear that when the Business (*Besogne*: marriage arrangements) begins, M. Veil [the Breton father of a woman seeking a match with Duronguet] won't be able to pay a high enough rate. The women of Paris are on a different pitch [*ton*], you know them well enough to judge.

One can only wonder what conversations nephew and uncle may have had on the subject, but Jean-Marie is crystal clear here and indeed almost counts himself a Parisian with the words *chez vous*, not *chez nous*.

Love and Agony in Paris

It was sometime in the fall of 1762 that Jean-Marie became involved with a Parisienne. Although we do not know her name, we know a great deal about her from a remarkable series of letters she sent her lover from November 1762 to July 1763. The letters themselves have an intriguing history that can, however, only be intuited. They lie

15. Jean-Marie Galles to Jean-Nicolas Galles and Jacquette Bertin Galles, letters of February 8, December 1, 1761; January 17, February 24, March 1, April 6, 1762; January 31, May 11, June 23, July 2 and 9, 1763; *Arrest du Conseil d'État privé du Roy* (with the entire legal history of the case, previous decisions included), dated July 31, 1763, ADM, 2 J 73, decreeing that "the said Lamoré be forbidden to exercise in the city of Vannes the profession of bookbinder and enjoins him to close his shop; disallows the lieutenant general of police of the said city to permit anyone to exercise the said profession separately from that of Bookseller, without having obtained a Decree from the Council [d'État] that he was received as a *Maître Libraire–Relieur*; it is also equally forbidden for whoever it might be to exercise in the said city the art of printing or the commerce of books, by virtue of these ordinances, without there appearing a similar Decree of the Council authorizing the exercise of either of these professions."

amidst Jean-Marie's correspondence in the archives in a small package, neatly folded and tied with a ribbon. Two hearts are inscribed on the wrapper. Upon opening, we see that they are not the originals but are copies in so tiny a hand that they can be read only with magnification. They are dated, though not with the years, but are strung without interruption one after the other, without the name of either the recipient or the sender.[16] At first, one is not even certain of the gender of the writer, but gradually she begins to appear. That Jean-Marie received them during the time just noted becomes clear from internal evidence. Who copied them, and why were they edited so opaquely? The answer is part of the story.

First of all, the person who writes these twenty-three letters—let us call her La Parisienne—writes beautifully. She has full command of the language, never becomes convoluted, and turns many striking phrases. Her tone is intensely personal, even solipsistic, a characteristic often noted in the female epistolary novelists of the age, especially Marie-Jeanne Riccoboni, whose immensely popular *Fanni Butlerd* appeared in 1757.[17] Her allusions and descriptive words are often commercial, and sometimes refer to nature, but never to classical texts or mythology. She thus seems well, if narrowly, educated. The absence, in some 5,200 words, of any religious reference, even to "Providence," is striking. She is well settled and connected in Paris (though she is not Parisian-born) and participates fully in its life. Given the focus of her letters—their relationship—evidence for it is not abundant, but she refers to their mutual friends, get-togethers in town, and a trip to the country. It is obvious that she and Jean-Marie met through the round of activities typical of single young people of the age, but perhaps more "bohemian" than "middle class." She, like many immigrants to the city, does not appear to have close relatives there, and may be an orphan, since she talks of a beloved "uncle" in her hometown. From all appearances, she lives alone and in some degree of comfort in an "apartment" facing the street on the first or second floor. A male friend of his ("B") lives in her building, for on one occasion she is crestfallen that Jean-Marie went "up" to see him without stopping by. They do not seem to be together during the day except on Sunday, and we have the strongest impression that she works full-time also, but not in her apartment. Although no direct reference to what she does emerges, the quality and precision of her language, and at least eight usages of commercial phraseology in discussing friendship and love, suggest that she may be her uncle's agent in Paris, just as he is, although we have no idea in what product line. Another possibility is that she is an independent *courtière de commerce*. Such roles for single *moyen-bourgeois* women were not at all unusual in later eighteenth-century Paris, as research in the endless files of the Châtelet de Paris demonstrates.[18] Another possibility is that she was an aspiring writer, an avenue followed by more and more

16. ADM, 2 J 73.

17. See Katherine Ann Jensen, *Writing Love: Letters, Women, and the Novel in France, 1605–1776* (Carbondale, IL, 1995), 134–41; and Wendy Carvalho Doucette, *Illusion and the Absent Other in Madame Riccoboni's "Lettres de Mistriss Fanni Butlerd"* (New York, 1997).

18. My own extensive research on family conflict (analysis yet unpublished) in these entry-level cases before the *commissaires du Châtelet* (series Y, AN) has found a number of single women in this profession. Their job was to transmit commercial documents and negotiate transactions between third parties.

educated women in the eighteenth century on both sides of the channel,[19] but the complete absence of metaphorical language makes this unlikely. It is also not the case that she was "copying love," by no means unusual in this day and age,[20] and not only for this reason, but also because the trajectory of their affair had no parallel in contemporary literature, at least as described by its analysts. There is no question that La Parisienne's often emotional tone and her internalized ruminations on love recall a Graffigny or a Riccoboni, two writers she was likely to have read and perhaps been influenced by, but reading through their novels does not reveal plagiarism.[21]

Jean-Marie Galles had his first encounters with his love-to-be sometime in the fall of 1762. On November 24 they spent an evening together during which they first bared their souls. Although we can only guess about the "sorrows" they revealed, her first letter to him the next day sets the tone of this correspondence:

> How I feel for you! What pain! Believe that I share it most sincerely. You show such a concern for my sorrows, how could I not show as much for yours? Who could tell me that after an evening so tranquil and gay, I would be so sad this morning? Still, I don't fear the future. . . . The source of your pain rekindles in me memories of a loss equally vital. But be comforted. It would make mine worse if you were not to be. I can't bear the thought of causing you sorrow. In sending you this letter, I also send my reputation and, consequently, my happiness. Can one extend trust any farther?

Typical of those to come, this letter alludes to a long, intimate conversation about which there is no need to be specific. Both know what they are talking about, but we are forced to surmise. This fact alone renders a reality to these letters that is absent in the often overexplained epistolary novel. (*Clarissa* is so incredibly *long*.) We know they are not discussing past loves, for that comes up, wrenchingly, later on, so it seems likely that the pain they "share" has to do with lost parents—his mother, Perrine, and possibly both of hers. In his case, there is also a history of early death and current illness. It is clear that the initiative in this relationship is hers, and she believes it can deepen because of their willingness to open up about their inner turmoil. This letter also establishes an essential equality between the two of them that lasts throughout.

Three weeks later, with the next letter, things have progressed rapidly. She again takes the first steps: new forms of address ("très bon ami," not "le nom froid de Mon-

19. Joan Hinde Stewart, "Novelists and Their Fictions," *French Women in the Age of the Enlightenment*, ed. Samia I. Spencer (Bloomington, IN, 1984), 198. The most interesting books to deal with this and a wide range of related topics are Dena Goodman, *Becoming a Woman in the Age of Letters* (Ithaca, NY, 2009); and Ruth Perry, *Novel Relations: The Transformation of Kinship in English Literature and Culture, 1748–1818* (Cambridge, 2006). Jane Spencer, *The Rise of the Woman Novelist: From Aphra Behn to Jane Austen* (Oxford, 1986), pioneered the study of women in English fiction and identified more novels by women than by men in this era.

20. Goodman, *Becoming a Woman*, chap. 4.

21. Françoise de Graffigny, *Lettres d'une péruvienne* (1747), preface by Colette Piau-Gillot (Paris, 1990), analysis by Goodman, *Becoming a Woman*, 247–51; Marie-Jeanne de Heurles Laboras de Mazières Riccoboni, *Oeuvres complètes de Mme Riccoboni*, 14 vols. (Paris, 1809).

sieur"); "Haven't we come a long way? Which of us will pull back first? I'm ready to say it won't be me; will you promise the same?" Isn't it wonderful "to speak so gaily?" The following week a small cloud has appeared. Jean-Marie committed a "little indiscretion" that "irritated" her—undoubtedly prying into her past love life—but she writes to assure him not to "worry about my continuing affection, because it was not without a great deal of thought that I chose you for my friend."[22]

The next letter, right after the New Year, begins to reveal a pattern in which Jean-Marie seems constantly concerned that he has upset her in criticizing aspects of her way of thinking or behaving. But in classic eighteenth-century terms, she says, "No reproach, tenderly expressed, displeases me, if they arise from honest feelings—and all feelings rooted in *amitié* are bound to be honest." He must know, she writes, that "you have laid claim to my affection . . . and have it in its entirety." He also reveals that he "tired" of an earlier relationship, but she confidently tells him that "this makes no difference to me" and hopes he can say the same. The following week come hints of a certain coolness on his part that becomes increasingly difficult for her to comprehend. She writes of it insightfully: "Notwithstanding your reasoned defense of your notion that your gaiety stems more from your cast of mind than from your heart, I must say that I can't control a pang of fear when I see you so gay." Apparently it seemed rather put on, contrived, to her. Undoubtedly, "it is the inexact reasoning of my heart that speaks; I should not listen to it. But I do believe that you are wrong to grumble about [the voice of the heart] in this instance. If it reasons poorly, it loves well and it's only the fear of being badly paid for the sentiment it expresses that makes it cautious." But then, brightly, she says: "You probably think I'm quite concerned about all this. *Mais non*. . . . Since I have come to know you better and have become sure of your *amitié*, it seems my sorrows [*chagrins*] have diminished by half. *Le plaisir de vous aimer et d'être aimé de vous m'en dédomager* [sic] *bien*." This is the first instance where the word *aimer* appears, but here, combined with the formal *vous*, it still probably signifies "to like," or maybe something in between. Most important, she seems concerned about his hesitation to communicate affectively, feeling obliged, for her part, to argue that the heart has reasons of its own.

They spent the following evening together and spoke seriously for the first time of a possible future with each other. He posed the prospect of returning to Vannes, which she clearly rejected, though in her letter the next day she says, "If it would be necessary to choose between V and Paris without you, I would know uncertainty." Confusion seems to have reigned in their conversation, for it does in her letter. She begins, apparently only for shock value, by declaring, "I shall never marry!" and then goes on to describe what she might write to her uncle about Jean-Marie, and saying that having met him, she now does not have the "least regret having come here, for I will always bless the place where I have loved you."

What happened that night? First of all, Jean-Marie himself was no doubt torn apart by recent events. On one hand, he had moved to an apartment of his own, and this

22. On the convolutions (and evolution) of the idea of *amitié*, see Anne Vincent-Buffault, *L'exercice de l'amitié: Pour une histoire des pratiques amicales aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles* (Paris, 1995).

may have been their first evening there—a reason for joy. On the other, his uncle's serious state of health was causing him personal grief and a sense of overwhelming obligation to see the Lamoré–La Forest case through successfully. And he obviously had been thinking about the necessity of returning home, despite his love for Paris, to take over the reins of the business should his uncle die. All of this seems a formula for warm and consoling love, but perhaps of a frustrating sort. Since eighteenth-century letter writers are notoriously circumspect about the actual details of physical love,[23] we do not know whether this was the moment when they first consummated their affair. But it seems likely that emotions ran high, tears intervened, and the moment was lost.

The next night seems the better candidate. La Parisienne had concluded her "I shall not marry" ramblings by saying that he had a right to "enhance his fortune" (presumably by returning to Vannes). But "it is not for [material] happiness that I desire you, but to acquit my debt to you forever and ever" (an interesting linguistic irony, rejecting commerce with the language of commerce!). On January 12, her letter speaks not of love but of jealousy. For it appears they had indeed rectified the tensions of the previous night, only to have him ask, when it was over, about her previous lover(s), hardly an unusual, but certainly a maddening, coda orchestrated by the insecure. But she remained serene: "So you think I'm going to call you an ingrate. You have misjudged me, seriously so. When one loves someone, it seems to me that one should not look back to see if one has done enough. I think that one betrays friendship when one does not give her friend all the proofs that are in our power and which do not contradict duty. As you can see, I blame myself. Yes, my friend, I will tell all. You have all my friendship. You have all my trust. We must hope to find the time to explain ourselves."

Late January and early February 1763 were, of course, sheer hell for Jean-Marie. The worst travails of the La Forest case had to be dealt with, and on January 31 he learned of his uncle's death. While praising both uncle for his life and love and aunt for her perseverance (for Jacquette Bertin Galles immediately stepped in to manage the business and Jean-Marie calls the lawsuit "your affair"), he did not return for the funeral. In all fairness, the case may have required his full attention (there is no hint of recrimination or apology in later correspondence), but it is also likely that he preferred to console himself with La Parisienne. Her first letter in three weeks, February 11, shows that they had been spending a lot of time together. But it also shows that she still had not told him many details about her past. She is now ready to do so, especially, she says with amazing frankness, since "this conflict nearly unknown to you [so he has an inkling of some public event involving her former suitor/lover] others might reveal to you." He apparently had become nasty ("your arrogant words made me shudder"), and she promises to tell all. She tries to explain the "[character] defect that I was born with," obviously her secretiveness, by reference to her own sense of insecurity:

> Whatever vanity I might possess, I don't have so much of it to believe myself among those women whose charms seduce in an irresistible manner. I real-

23. Daumas, *Tendresse*, notes this on many occasions. Sade too, in fact: most of the details (before he began writing novels) about his adventures come from police blotters.

> ize how little worth heaven has endowed me with, and if, by some momentary error, someone fell in love with me, it would not take a great exercise of reason on his part to correct it. With this outlook, I believe I can remain free of any illusions and know how to discern the motives of men's actions toward me. This said, I am not going to tell you, despite your jealousy, that I do not have the capacity for love. If you think that, then how can *we* be intimate? Far from being a joy for me, it would be a torment.

She also understood his current turmoil, commenting sympathetically about his "many troubles."

Three days later, an entirely different world seemed to open. He had written her a letter full of remorse and even thoughts of suicide. But she writes back (we now learn that a servant is delivering the letters directly): "What is singular is that I've often harbored the same thoughts. Come to the house. In seeing you, all that disappears. Expect the oddest questions on my part. Thus prepare yourself. You will see that I have no more surprises. My openness will be yours. One is indulgent of those one loves."

The *Sturm und Drang* ended, the affair then entered a period of fulfillment—to be followed by an appropriate Romantic denouement—not one found in the literature of the day, however, for neither abandonment nor death awaited La Parisienne, but incredulity.[24]

After their reconciliation, they spent two weeks seeing each other a good deal, clearly becoming closer and closer, though not making love. On February 27, a day when, "despite my desire, I will not see you," she writes a letter to convince him how much she loves him. But it is also "for my own pleasure that I write," she says, in this case echoing her literary sisters. He apparently has taunted her for not showing her love enough (probably having to do with their physical relationship), and she says that even though it might be "useless" to try to overcome his "skepticism," he is not the "only one who knows how to love well. Be informed that there is another person in this world who, if she does not have a manner as expressive as yours, does not love you less." It would seem that she did her best to show him that evening or the next (though still short of transgressing "le devoir"), for she received from him a letter that "gave me such pleasure" in which he timidly introduced "a mixture of *tu* and *vous*." She warmly embraced this overture but, in tutoyering him throughout, chides him for not doing the same and closes: "*Bonsoir, dors bien et aimes moi*. I go to sleep to dream of you." But the next day—another letter—he continues to mix the two forms, and she wonders whether he intends to love her "in fits and starts [*par accès*]." The flurry of letters continued two days hence with her saying, "Enough of these trifles," which may have referred to usage, but also to a discussion of jealousy and, for the first time, *his* past lover, who seems to have been given to it. ("Who wouldn't be?" says La Parisienne.) He had apparently taken her to task for some emotional outburst, but she responds as

24. See especially Madelyn Gutwirth, "The Engulfed Beloved: Representations of Dead and Dying Women in the Art and Literature of the Revolutionary Era," in *Rebel Daughters: Women and the French Revolution*, ed. Sara E. Melzer and Leslie W. Rabine (Oxford, 1992), 198–227.

only a champion of this new age of sensibility would: "I let my heart speak . . . and saw nothing to fear in showing too much feeling." Things remained amorous nonetheless, for she closes a brief note the next evening swearing she loves him "more than myself, more than the whole world" (a perfect eighteenth-century juxtaposition!).

Then, on March 9, a crisis. Her letter explains: "How can you not be certain that you possess uniquely the heart, the soul, and the sentiment of your *amie*? I shun your caresses, you say. No, my friend, I don't shun them. But I fear them because of what they arouse in me. Don't you realize that what I fear is myself? Do you think that I don't feel the sweetness [*douceur*] of it? It's because I value it too much [*je la prise trop*] that I refuse it." The nature of their relationship now becomes clear. This is for her a courtship, though one operating beyond the usual rules and limitations set by families and society. Both are young, independent provincials from good families. Each has had a previous affair that may have been sexual. His perspective also seems oriented toward marriage (recall the discussion of where they might live), but, following a pattern told in countless paternity cases, he is also seeking a sexual relationship that risks cheapening the formal outcome.[25] There is also something else, of course: that "one unfortunate occasion" when grief and consolation brought them to a clearly unsatisfactory "oubli de devoir" two months before. This is the only direct reference to their previous intercourse. Interestingly, Jean-Marie's response to rejection was not that different from his response to "success": instant doubts about his ability to arouse a strong sexual response from a woman. In the first situation, he asked, in effect, "Was he better?" In the second, "Why weren't you attracted?" In both, she, the good lover, followed up by soothing his ego. She was clearly very drawn to him, but also began to sense there was a problem here that all of her reassurances might not solve.

Ten days later: "I saw you passing in the street. No doubt you were going chez. . . . You spoke to her. She told you that she still loved you, or if she didn't say it, her eyes said it for her. And, indeed, I'm jealous." So Jean-Marie sought gratification with his old girlfriend. For her part, La Parisienne went to a party in the country without him. But still, the letter is full of wishes that he had been there beside her; "it's only with you that my heart is fulfilled," and so on. And finally: "Never have I loved as I love you. Deny me your love, take away my happiness, that would be more than taking my life." Such sentiments—and who knows what happened *chez "elle"*—brought them back together and, one senses, on his terms, for a letter a week later (March 26) talks of all the time they've been spending with each other, and another, four days after that, speaks of lines by a favorite poet that he underlined for her. "I could never desire any other as long as I would be certain of possessing your heart; I would be perfectly happy, yes, perfectly." Even though he had to return to Vannes to arrange a variety of business matters, she remained positive. Talking of the "torture" of being without him for so long—up to six weeks—she nonetheless blesses the fifteen weeks that they have had together. And, at his invitation, she plans to write a letter to Aunt Jacquette, and

25. See especially Arlette Farge, *Le vie fragile: Violence, pouvoir et solidarités à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1986), 31–54. I have also worked extensively with the reports of the *commissaires du Châtelet de Paris* (AN, series Y) and have examined scores of paternity cases. My book *Challenging Absolutism from Within: Family Conflict in Eighteenth-Century Paris* is in preparation.

hence to the family, about their love. It almost seems that Jean-Marie and La Parisienne might have a future together.

But it was not to be. On April 17 she writes: "Ah, I had foreseen it. It's often imprudent to be too frank. I was too confident and you [*vous*!] have surely made me rue it. I should have foreseen what my indiscretion has just produced. I cannot, however, refuse to offer thanks, even praise, for the noble sacrifice you make in being so kind as to suggest a 'rest' [*repos*]. But what is this rest? Should it not be accompanied by a few tender remarks to assure me that you love me?"

What he had announced was the need for a pause in their relationship, and he had done so in a letter from Vannes that was shockingly terse. She then proceeds to a stream of desperate declarations of her love: "You do not know how I can love. And who do I love more than you, who have I loved as much as you? I once believed that the most vital and durable attachment was the first that we experience. But my love for you is much greater, a thousand times more alive. It is a love insurmountable, well considered, founded upon esteem, upon the conviction that never had a nobler soul, a more generous heart, one worthy of all the affection of mine, been offered to me." What had happened? La Parisienne's letter to Aunt Jacquette had precipitated Jean-Marie's decision:

> No doubt it's my overly passionate manner of loving you and the frankness with which I expressed what takes place in my heart for you that has made her [Aunt Jacquette] judge me *coupable* [guilty, sinful?]. Perhaps you love me less than I love you. You told me one day that you love me most tenderly, but without passion. Apparently she found in my love for you the cast of passion. I did not plot a liaison with you before I told you I loved you. And indeed lovers use the expressions "to burn," "to enflame," when they speak of love, and certainly when I think of you, my heart seems quite literally "to burn." I feel that lovers say nothing excessive. My friend, must I rue having said what I feel for you? Whatever I have said to weaken your feelings for me, mine can never change.

What has occurred, obviously, is that Aunt Jacquette, having received a letter about the relationship from La Parisienne, pictured her as a big-city hussy (and Jean-Nicolas had certainly helped create such an image of Parisian women) and objected to her nephew's interest in her. But more important is the portrait we get of Jean-Marie's personality, which now seems consistent throughout the affair. He was uncomfortable with heterosexual passion, and seems to have sought physical love with women almost to reassure himself of his drive.

But La Parisienne was not finished. She would accommodate herself to his "manner of loving."

> Please don't stop esteeming me. I should have controlled my feelings, but was unable to do so. I made a mistake. At first, since it appeared that the sentiment of friendship was the only one you felt for me, I thought only to feel the same. Then you pronounced the name of love. My heart rejected it at first and ended

> by embracing it. *Ah, mon ami*! It is too late to tear love from my heart. Don't persist in your cruel arrangement. My soul could not be at peace if my heart is broken. Cure my madness [*folie*], tell me that my feelings are too strong, that they must be controlled so I can change the tenderest love into a friendship [*amitié*] worthy of you. Yes, refashion me as you wish, but do not condemn me never again to hear that you love me.

Upon rereading it, La Parisienne almost tore up this letter for "fear of losing your heart for showing you mine as it is." Please, she says, "do not scorn it. It is yours forever." Well, he did not. Upon his return to Paris, they saw each other again, perhaps on the terms she proposed, initially without much squabbling. But at the same time, people were beginning to talk, even "make jokes" about them. Four letters, May 20, June 11, June 14, and July 3, are all that remain. She closes the first by saying that "*les méchants* would like to put us asunder. It's in vain, for they can never succeed. Believe it, dear friend." The next is about how her "heart skipped a beat" when he came by, only to bypass her apartment to see his friend in the same building, and her discussing how she "need[s] him this evening to drive away a little the doldrums that have not left me all day." He had come to see her the day before, "and," she writes, "left me sadder than when you arrived." The next ends in her saying that some people might "have an idea far different from mine in wishing you were in my bedroom at this late hour and simply to say that I love you—but that's their problem." And the last: "In what a state you left me! Was it something that I said that brought on your rancor? It seems that everything I do by way of solace becomes a source of sorrow for me. Ah, *mon ami*, is it thus that you love?" Their world was collapsing. He was always angry, she in a state of incomprehension and despair. There may have been some final explosion, but their course seems more and more pathetic, ending with a whimper.

What had caused it? One argument might well be opposition from home. Undoubtedly Jacquette Bertin and possibly Jean-Marie's father raised objections to a marriage. But Jean-Marie in fact was an adult before the law (he had passed twenty-five the previous year) and far too valuable to the firm, just then triumphing in the La Forest case, to offend. Moreover, he had independence of assets and income as both his father's partner and the only active adult male in the family at that moment. Had he desired to make La Parisienne his wife, he surely could have prevailed. No, it is clear that he just lost interest in her. Now, it is possible that this was one of those cases in which love was simply not to be or certain social values overrode affection. But the record—in rather elaborate detail—is more interesting than that. It is the story of a young man testing the waters of love, encountering a rather remarkable, and remarkably understanding, woman who loved him deeply (perhaps an element of the problem), and then recoiling in frustration. Are we watching a person coming to terms with his sexuality? There seems little doubt of it. But would it be an active sexuality, whatever its orientation, at all? We have no way of knowing. Certainly his experience was typical of thousands of homosexuals in that day and this who passed through painful heterosexual experiences before finding themselves. But he could also have "loved tranquilly" or not at all. La Parisienne's tender concern for him might have

covered either circumstance in a manner made famous in the twentieth century by Dora Carrington. Two things are certain: Jean-Marie Galles never married, and he went back to Vannes only one more time, during the illness and death of his cousin Marc, who left five children orphans in 1801.

And we know that his family did not approve of his single, "celibate" status. This takes us to the last piece of the puzzle, for the little package in his archives contained not just La Parisienne's letters but another document at the end, and in the same minuscule hand, which began, "Le célibat n'est pas une vertu." It appears to be an outline for an essay or book of six chapters marshaling all the best eighteenth-century arguments against celibacy and was undoubtedly aimed at Jean-Marie. The style of the handwriting of both it and the copied letters is good later eighteenth century. Whose might it be? Careful comparative analysis of handwriting points to Perrine, Jean-Marie's favorite cousin, god-sibling, and namesake of the mother he never knew. The likely date is sometime in the 1780s, possibly even after the beginning of the Revolution, but before her death in 1790, mainly because of the intensely populationist tone of the essay outline. Jean-Marie probably entrusted the letters to her—perhaps to demonstrate that he had been loved by a woman—with the stipulation that she edit and camouflage them as directed. The outline may or may not have been sent to him; perhaps she completed a manuscript, but there is no evidence that it was printed by Galles or anyone else. It is a fascinating document and reveals some rather surprising beliefs in the heart of this Catholic and royalist family.

Chapter 1. Celibacy is not a virtue, it is not useful to society, it results in no advantage for the individual.

Chapter 2. According to the observations of physicians, unnatural [*forcé*] celibacy produces the greatest harms for the body. To offset them, one must adhere to certain rules [such as] frequent bleedings and constant hard labor. Thus to defy nature on one point, one is obliged to be contrary to it on many others.

Chapter 3. Among the Jews, celibacy did not exist at all. It was never honored in the best periods of Greece and the Roman Empire when morals were pure. The inhabitants of our countryside are less corrupted [presumably than urban folk, Parisians], and one of the main reasons is that nearly everyone marries. How can we call something a virtue if it cannot be asserted for everyone? Celibates are less human, worse citizens because they are attached to the fatherland by fewer ties.

Chapter 4. Religious celibacy contradicts all the gifts of the creator. He did not give us our senses to forbid their legitimate use, and inclinations toward acts that are not at all bad cannot be viewed as temptation for doing evil.

Chapter 5. We find in ancient institutions no encouragement of voluntary celibacy. Examples of religious celibacy are so few that we can easily conclude that the ancient peoples did not practice it.

Chapter 6. Lycurgus had declared celibates infamous; young people were excused from rendering homage to them in their old age. Athens had laws against marrying too late.

Reformers under the late old regime and the Revolution, concerned about what they thought to be a decline in French reproductive rates, focused on the unmarried state as the culprit. It fit the discourse of anti-aristocratic, anticlerical, anti-libertine, pro-domestic wholesomeness that animated reform circles perfectly, making singles suspect. Carol Blum's perceptive study makes clear how central the arguments about celibacy were to the emergent revolutionary mentality. Courtesans, prostitutes, *salonnières*, and lesbians provided the female trope for aristocratic excess (classically heaped upon Marie Antoinette when the time came), while the dandy, the philanderer, the painted-faced gambler, the bisexual, the homosexual subverter of youth occupied the male side, where degenerate priest was added to debauched aristocrat. The rise of genre painting, above all the work of Greuze, captured the other world—of the married, the father embracing his many children, the mother rejecting the wet nurse.[26]

And here was Perrine Galles, probably with the approbation of her brother Marc, a combatant in the battle for decency and domesticity—and, emphatically, a proponent of enlightened natural philosophy against a central tenet of Catholic tradition. Yet she and Marc (along with Jean-Marie, in fact) were, and remained, Catholics and royalists and even tended to cast their lot with the institutional church of their city. Whatever concerns they might have had about their cousin's personal life, he remained a vital part of their world. Indeed, in his role as their Parisian, he was making it a different world, one opening—with all its palpable risks, human and financial—toward the national stage.

In 1770 Jean-Marie Galles received the designation *Bourgeois de Paris*. This title, awarded upon application by the syndics of the Conseil municipal de Paris, and confirmed by the royal *sénéschal* of the city, came to individuals of a certain status, wealth, and accomplishment, as well as an independence that might allow them to "live nobly" if they wished (though thousands worked regularly at their chosen professions), and granted them honorific privileges, certain tax exemptions, respect in their neighborhoods, and the putative right to bear arms in the Paris militia (which in fact was moribund). Most important, perhaps, were the duties associated with the office. A *Bourgeois* was a citizen in the active sense: he participated directly (not through his corporation) in the electoral politics of the municipality and the *quartier*, and was obliged to investigate troubles of all sorts in his neighborhood that might (or might not) require police action. He was a kind of ombudsman on the spot, a notch below the *commissaires du Châtelet*, whose job it was to facilitate order in the capital. Many cases that came to the attention of the *commissaires* are reported by *Bourgeois*, who might come between an abusive husband and his victim, catch a glimpse of a thief

26. Carol Blum, *Strength in Numbers: Population, Reproduction, and Power in Eighteenth-Century France* (Baltimore, 2002). Among the many contemporary works on the subject, two sum up the major arguments best: M. Poncet de la Grave, *Considérations sur le célibat, relativement à la politique, à la population, et aux bonnes moeurs: Ouvrage dédié à la Nation Française* (Paris, an IX [1801]); and Jacques Gaudin, *Les inconvéniens du célibat de prêtres, prouvés par des recherches historiques* (1781; Paris, 1790). For an up-to-date overview of the issue, see Jean-Claude Bologne, *Histoire du célibat et des célibataires* (Paris, 2004).

making his escape, counsel an unwed mother, or wade into a brawl at the wine merchant's.[27] They were, in fact, the very core of the old Parisian bourgeoisie, though their status was waning in the later eighteenth century as a much more nuanced, broader, but as yet hardly homogeneous concept of the Parisian bourgeoisie was emerging. Jean-Marie Galles was one of them both in title and in spirit.[28]

27. See Roland E. Mousnier, *The Institutions of France under the Absolute Monarchy*, trans. Brian Pearce (Chicago, 1979), 214–39, for definitions and the complexities of *bourgeois* status and roles. As for *Bourgeois de Paris* in action, my own yet unpublished research in the records of the Parisian *commissaires de Police* has turned up dozens of instances in which a local man identified with this title was the first on the scene when a family conflict (or worse) was reported by neighbors and often settled issues without police intervention. Whatever the circumstances, their testimony before a *commissaire* counted. Laurence Croq, *Les "Bourgeois de Paris" au XVIIIe siècle: Identification d'une catégorie sociale polymorphe* (Villeneuve d'Ascq, 1999), provides the most detailed analysis of the category and its overlapping meanings in popular parlance. For further discussion, see the introduction and note 36.

28. In a letter formally approving the marriage of his cousin Perrine, he follows his name with this title, which appears several times later on; letter of August 25, 1770, ADM, 2 J 73.

CHAPTER THREE

The Revolutions of the Galles

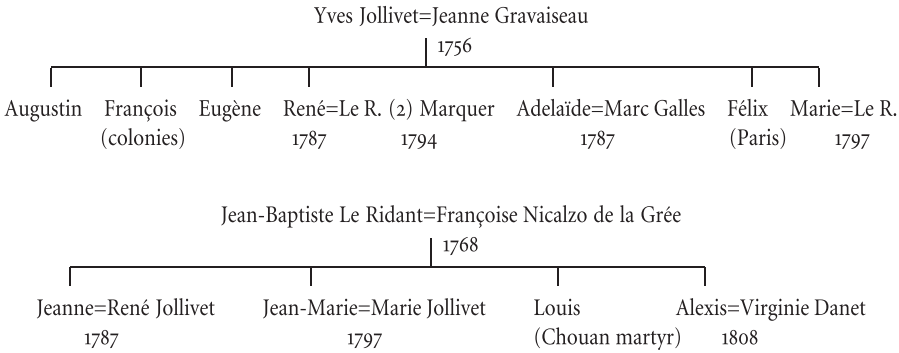

Figure 3. The rise of the Jollivets and the Le Ridants

The shelves of the only bookshop of Vannes were filled with books on "revolutions" (*Les Révolutions de Suède, Les Révolutions de France*), but they were not about revolts against the established order. Instead they were histories of the ups and downs of states and peoples rooted in the Renaissance notion that history moves in cycles that "revolve" in more or less regular fashion but with interesting bumps along the way. This may be the best way to think of how the Galles, despite enormous personal tragedy, experienced—we might almost say absorbed—the revolutionary era. They were against it, they were a part of it, they rued it, they benefited from it: they revolved with it. Let us examine their revolutions.

Economic Establishment: Veuve Galles and the Articulation of Power

The death of Jean-Nicolas, the distance of Jean-Marie, and the apparent ennui/ill health of Nicolas left the management of the family enterprise in the hands of Jacquette Bertin. Although details are lacking, there is no question that she did well, for in 1785, ten years after her son Marc had taken the reins of the business, she paid a capitation in her own right of 113 livres, 8 sols, now largely based in landed investments

that she made during the eighties.[1] She also received the recognition of posterity: her second grandson (Perrine's son, who died as a baby) and then Marc's second boy were given her family name and Marc's first daughter her Christian name. Jacquette, who would not die until 1808, once again would be called upon to shepherd the publishing house through crisis after Marc's death in 1801. Her status as *chef d'entreprise* can be gauged, perhaps, by a case that came before the commercial court of Vannes in 1765. Several bales of paper from Nantes had been water damaged, and she claimed recompense, arguing that they had arrived that way, while the paper merchants said that faulty storage in Vannes was the cause. Three experts (including a political ally) testified positively about the timing, and the court—not surprisingly, since the Galles brothers were past members of a body chosen nepotistically—ruled in her favor.[2]

Veuve Galles also sought to expand operations to Lorient, the most rapidly growing city in Brittany. It had become an ominous rival of Vannes, where the old grain-merchant class seemed mired in expectations and practices of a bygone era; their lack of initiative was dooming the city to an ever more stagnant economy, affecting all classes of its population. Although the Galles' best customer, the Collège de Vannes, had weathered the expulsion of the Jesuits, many individual clients had disappeared, and Bishop Bertin, an ardent supporter of the order, found himself less able to appoint friends and allies as he pleased. Jacquette Bertin's plan was to find a husband for her daughter Perrine in the world of print in Lorient.

Typical of its freewheeling economy, Lorient had several print shops and booksellers, not all of whom, however, had an available young man. But perseverance paid off. Circumstances evolved in appropriate later eighteenth-century fashion via soirées and balls to allow Perrine, approaching her twentieth year in the late sixties, to meet and appreciate Julien Le Jeune, the heir to an *imprimérie-librairie* in Lorient, and a rather dashing, well-educated young fellow. A letter of July 21, 1770, from Jean-Marie in Paris to his aunt reveals the outcome:

> The information that you have gathered in Lorient accords with what I have done here regarding the conduct of M. Le Jeune. His fortune, his status, and his character are also in agreement with your intentions.
>
> I can only applaud the choice that you have made, being most certain that you have brought to bear on it all the solicitude of maternal tenderness. I believe that M. Le Jeune is the right man to bring happiness to my cousin, and I am persuaded that he will love her all the more when he comes to know the full reward of her heart. I hope that my cousin finds in this sweet union the well-being and the satisfaction that she merits in all regards and she has a right to expect. I also hope that M. Le Jeune justifies—by his affection for her—the choice of his person, making him therefore worthy of the preference that you accord to him.

This, then, was Jean-Marie's formal approval of his future in-law and is couched in the language of the old system of marriage arrangements—which he himself had

1. ADM, L 453, Capitation, 1791.
2. ADM, 11 B 116, March 7, 1765.

bypassed—focusing on the older generation's rightful control of the process, though love and fulfillment are also stressed. Moreover, in his letter written the same day to Perrine's brother Marc, we see a much more sensitive Jean-Marie and learn a bit more about the "beautiful Perrine." In "augmenting the number of her *adorateurs* [worshipers], M. Le Jeune has demonstrated his good taste and discernment. In winning her hand and her heart, he has also proved his merit and wisdom," because she, obviously, would not render them lightly. He hopes that Le Jeune will give her the happiness that she "surely will give him," but adds rather bluntly, "She will never be as happy as I would wish for her." We are witness here to cousin love of some strength, and it can be argued that Perrine was also the sister that Jean-Marie never had. Such links will become more palpable in the next generation, but they cannot be ignored here. Interestingly, he does not show the same emotional warmth toward his male cousin Marc, whom he addresses as *vous* throughout, though assuring him of "my sincere, lifelong affection." (To speak to others in the familiar, as we have seen, was difficult for Jean-Marie, and, alas, we do not have a single letter of his to Perrine to determine whether he made an exception for her.)

But Jean-Marie would not come to the wedding, giving "des affaires" as the reason. And more: "I left Vannes ten years ago now, and I may never see it again."[3] Despite his continuing service to the business, it is clear that a deep tension (no doubt the result of his *mariage manqué*) marked his relations with the family, and only Perrine extended to him the understanding that he sought.

As it turned out, it was Perrine who would need *his* understanding over the next several years. Her wedding was celebrated with due circumstance on September 17, 1770, with Jacquette, Jean-Marc (this was how he signed his name then), the groom's parents—Jacques Le Jeune, "Marchand Libraire à Lorient," and Marie-Magdeleine Cadorelte—and several Galpins among the witnesses. Perrine and Julien signed their names with appropriate bourgeois flourishes. The newlyweds relished the kind of life and career in the book business that their substantial marriage portions promised.[4] They moved to Lorient to enhance the Le Jeune firm with all the connections that the ancient house of Galles might bring. Letters from Perrine and Julien to her uncle Nicolas (and his to them) in the first years of their marriage are remarkable only in their banality. Just five days after the wedding, they write him a warm note expressing their mutual happiness but sorrow that he felt too weak to attend. In December she sends New Year's greetings and asks for Jean-Marie's new address in Paris. (Commensurate with his new status, he had moved to a fine apartment at 37 rue du Temple, Maison de M. Pichault, *banquier*.) The following November, Perrine chides her godfather for not having written since they went to Lorient and pouts a bit, *adorée* that she was, about the lack of social contact in her life there. Julien writes New Year's greetings for 1772 and then an effusive announcement of their firstborn in February 1773. She follows up at the end of March with new concerns about Nicolas's health, and says, "My little Julien Jean-Baptiste Joseph-Marie sends his little respects, too." Also, "Papa et

3. Both letters dated July 21, 1770, ADM, 2 J 73.
4. ADM, 4 E 260/3 (Paroisse ND de Menez), September 17, 1770.

Mamma Le Jeune" are delighted with their grandson and extend their regards to the Galles patriarch. Jacquette's program seemed right on schedule.

Then, on December 5, 1773, while sending a birthday message, she remarks that they are all packed to return to Vannes, where Julien will work directly with the Galles firm. No specifics are offered, but this was not supposed to be his function. Could it be explained by Marc's sojourn in Paris to learn the trade there with his cousin? Perhaps; but something more serious was afoot.

Despite the arrival of "little Poulo," the "joy and consolation of her Grandma," and the young family's return to Lorient in the spring of 1775, things were in disarray. It is again a letter from Jean-Marie to his aunt (October 1775) that tells all:

> You have not had from M. Le Jeune all the satisfaction that you had expected. It is maddening that he gives himself over to gambling, having returned to Lorient, and thus to his old ways, when he should have remained with you to profit from your kindness and your help in reestablishing his affairs. . . . I fear indeed that all his promises have come to naught. I agree with your position and have written to my *cousine* that the surest course would be a *séparation des biens*; it is a rigorous, and sad, procedure. I agree that my *cousine* loves her husband tenderly, but finally she would be at peace and I assume that she is not so now. I wish with all my heart that M. Le Jeune may recover [*revienne*] from his misconduct and once again occupy himself usefully in his trade.

Although Jean-Marie does not appear to hold out much hope, this is not an unsympathetic letter.[5] Julien Le Jeune seems to have suffered from a disease no less widespread in that day than this. In the thousands of applications for marital separation of assets dotting the records of the provincial presidial courts and the Châtelet de Paris, no cause was more prominent (except possibly drink) than gambling. This procedure allowed the spouse (overwhelmingly the wife) to protect her marriage portion against the depredations arising from the partner's errant behavior. Gambling threw money to the winds, often took the place of work, and might lead to physical reprisals by unpaid players, even against one's family. To bring the problem into public view was, of course, humiliating, and it might also alert creditors that something was up, so a separation could not be entered into frivolously. But it was an important legal instrument protecting wives and their families from the worst, and the mere application might well bring the miscreant to his senses. Jean-Marie implies as much in the last line. Although such procedures might be undertaken by abused wives, often as a prelude to full "separation of body, of bed, or of habitation"—the closest thing to divorce in Catholic France—it was not at all unusual for the applicant to love her husband dearly while fearing what his habits might do to their pocketbook.[6] So it was with Perrine Galles.

5. Letters from Perrine, 2 J 77; from Jean-Marie, 2 J 76.

6. Much attention has been given to this issue in the literature, and I have worked extensively with the documents from the Châtelet de Paris (series Y, AN) in my as yet unpublished study of Parisian family conflict in this era. See especially Arlette Farge, *Le vie fragile: Violence, pouvoir et solidarités à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1986), 101–21, and Alain Lottin, *La désunion du couple sous l'Ancien Régime: L'example du Nord* (Lille, 1975).

What happened? Well, first of all, as if to verify their ongoing love, the couple soon announced the coming of another child, and Jean François Charles Bertin Le Jeune arrived the following October (only to die before his first birthday). But meanwhile, the separation got under way. Since the case disappeared without issue, we may assume the threat did its work, for the next time we locate Perrine, she is, in her uncle's shaky hand, "Mlle Galles, Épouse de M. Le Jeune Libraire, au Château de Plessis-Kaer," in a letter sent to that address on July 30, 1777. This chateau, located in the commune of Crach but closer to Auray and overlooking the Auray River, belonged to the du Plessis de Grénédan family, Vannes nobles of long pedigree and weak finances who thrice married rich bourgeoises in the later eighteenth century. Probably through connections created by Bishop Bertin, cemented by *notaire* Yves Jollivet (a Plessis witnessed his daughter's baptism in 1766), both the Galles and their future in-laws the Jollivets spent happy days there. Indeed, Adèle Jollivet was born at the chateau in 1796. The Le Jeune couple's sojourn there was probably arranged by Perrine's mother. Another girl, Angélique, was born on August 18, 1779, in Vannes, meaning a return of both (or perhaps her alone, since he does not report the birth, though that was not so unusual). But not long thereafter, Julien Le Jeune disappears from the history of the Galles, never to be mentioned again. In the early eighties, Perrine was at work with her brother and mother in Vannes.[7]

By this time, the fortunes of the Galles should have been taken in hand by Marc Galles. We know less about this pivotal figure in the Galles' story than we would like, for he has left precious few letters or other traces. But he was talked *about* a good deal. He was the apple of his father's eye; Jean-Nicolas delighted in his "handsome, charming" nature (though finding him "far too thin") as a child.[8] Jean-Marie may have preferred Perrine but had nothing bad to say about his only male cousin. He did agree with Marc's mother that he was rather slow in marrying (Jean-Marie should talk!) and hence in creating the proper foundation for his "establishment." Indeed, at the time of the Le Jeune crisis, Jean-Marie remarked pointedly to Jacquette that he hoped that Marc, "provided with the place that my father has occupied [in the business], . . . will become more involved and will apply himself with greater zeal and activity in your affairs and then will take a wife."[9] It is even possible that Marc's lack of enthusiasm had caused his mother to seek an enterprising husband for Perrine, a strategy often pursued in families doubting the capacities of the heir apparent.[10] That having failed, she

7. This story is reconstructed from birth and marriage records (Ec Vannes) and later family correspondence. Perrine also appears on the capitation rolls.

8. Jean-Nicolas Galles to Jacquette Bertin Galles, May 28, 1760, in Bertrand Frélaut, "Un Vannetais à la Bastille: Jean-Nicolas Galles à la Bastille en 1760 d'après sa correspondance inédite," *Mémoires de la Société polymathique du Morbihan* 116 (1990): 178.

9. Letters of July 21, 1770, and October 1775 (quotation from the last), ADM, 2 J 76.

10. As the kinship practice of strict linear succession declined in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this phenomenon became increasingly common. See Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabean, "From Siblingship to Siblinghood: Kinship and the Shaping of European Society (1300–1900)," in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabean (New York, 2011), 9–13, 26; David Warren Sabean, "German International Families in the Nineteenth Century: The Siemens Family as a Thought Experiment," in *Trans-Regional and Transnational Families: Experiences in Europe and Beyond since the Middle Ages*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson, David Warren Sabean, Simon Teuscher, and Francesca Trivellato (Oxford, 2011), 227–52; see as well an excellent

and Jean-Marie then settled on Marc, *faute de mieux*. We know that while the young man spent time in Paris with his cousin, the latter was exasperated that he preferred to see the sights and browse the bookshops rather than learn the business. He complained as well that it took a lot of persuading to get Marc's *maîtrise* approved in the Conseil d'État (now the rule thanks to the Galles' famous suit) in May 1775.[11] Marc was always happier reading books than manufacturing them.

Still, the business flourished under his name, achieving official recognition as an *Imprimerie royale* in 1782, a privilege that carried with it the exclusive right to print all government documents emanating from the jurisdiction of Vannes. But the actual stewardship of the operation clearly remained in the hands of Jacquette Bertin Galles until Marc's marriage in 1787, because capitation entries until that time list her as the official taxpayer. On the rolls of 1785, Marc is not even mentioned, meaning that he was probably in Paris at the time. An account book of household expenditures provides remarkable detail for the years 1779–1781 and reminds us of another way that Veuve Galles contributed to the well-being of the family. True to the tradition evident in Nicolas's inventory of 1745, every bill was paid immediately in cash. There is no evidence of accounts with grocers, butchers, or even builders. Masons, carpenters, anyone involved in improvements or maintenance, are paid on the spot. Every two weeks, the sum of 15 livres is recorded for "Marianne's wages"—a decent amount for a live-in maid. There was nothing extravagant in the family's expenditures. They ate well, but bread, which they bought in bulk, and vegetables constituted the foundation of their diet. Typically for port dwellers, fish and oysters were more prominent than meat, which they appear to have eaten no more than twice a week. In all, it was a well-run bourgeois household without the least hint of luxury despite the level of wealth attained.[12] They remained very high on the capitation lists throughout the 1780s and were regularly regarded during the Revolution as being among the wealthiest families of Vannes, prime targets for exceptional taxation and forced loans.

The sources of their wealth remained significantly tied to the business, though Jacquette Bertin Galles also made investments in land. As noted earlier, the capitation roll of 1785 shows "La Demoiselle Veuve Galles" paying 113 livres, 8 sols. La Dame Le Jeune (meaning that Julian Le Jeune was still alive, if not present) is listed as a resident of the house. One "garçon imprimeur," Paul Leguermeur, paid a capitation of 7 livres, 4 sols, an indicator that he was well paid; there were also four "domestiques," work-

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study that treats succession within a family business over several generations: Robert J. Smith, *The Bouchayers of Grenoble and French Industrial Enterprise, 1850–1970* (Baltimore, 2001).

11. Registration of reception in Vannes (1775), ADM, B 1359; J.-M. Galles letter, October 1775, ADM, 2 J 76.

12. ADM, 2 J 74, Livre des dépenses, 1779–1781. Compared to the lifestyle of the *haut-bourgeois* Lamothes of Bordeaux, studied by Christine Adams, the simplicity of their table was obvious, for the Lamothes ate and drank quite well, often from the products of their own estates. And while they shared similar conservative values, rigorously avoided debt, and sought to economize where possible, the Lamothes' material surroundings (where finery and silver abounded) were far above the level of the Galles' and their real property vast by comparison. See Christine Adams, *A Taste for Comfort and Status: A Bourgeois Family in Eighteenth-Century France* (University Park, PA, 2000), 42–43, 51–85. But by the 1780s, the local esteem in which the Galles were held, in a much more restricted social environment, matched that of the Lamothes.

ers for the enterprise and the household, who collectively were taxed at 6 livres. The capitation was based on estimated annual income (ostensibly 5 percent but usually closer to 2 percent), but does not distinguish among types of assets producing them. The Galles, however, also paid one of the highest business taxes in Vannes, so it is likely that the publishing house remained their main source of income. As for real estate, they owned their principal business location on the boulevard facing the place du Marché. It included a spacious printing works, a warehouse, and the bookshop as well as domestic quarters, probably expanded beyond the household of Nicolas forty years earlier. They also ran another shop by the cathedral.

Moreover, the enterprising matriarch had purchased an *héritage*, a farm bought outright, on which a tenant (in this case, the Ollié family) would be settled under a short-term lease, usually paid in specie. She was thus unable to break into the circle of owners (dominated by nobles) of property leased under *domaine congéable*, the less profitable if more stable semi-feudal form of agricultural land management typical of the region, in which absentee proprietors owned the land, and the tenants, usually on nine-year leases, owned buildings and equipment, which were often subcontracted, creating complex relationships but opportunities for the rural poor.

Jacquette participated in the later eighteenth-century movement of wealthy townsmen into the countryside which, if not an invasion, at least began the regional shift toward bourgeois displacement of nobles as rural proprietors. Vannes's historian of this period, Timothy Le Goff, shows that while city merchants and professionals did buy significant amounts of land and some *fonds*, the sellers were not normally from the local nobility, and in any case, the main purchases were in virtually suburban parishes such as Theix, Séné, and Saint-Patern. Still, the move was under way, and places like the Presqu'isle de Rhuys, where *domaine congéable* did not exist, along with micro-plots everywhere became active markets beckoning rich commoners of the city. Another point that research into the soon-to-expand constellation of Galles marriage partners has revealed is the inordinate role of *notaires* of Vannes with roots in the farther hinterlands in developing land transactions for themselves and their clients in their *pays d'origine*. Such would be the work of Jean-Baptiste Le Ridant from Sarzeau, Yves Le Fraper from Saint-Avé, Yves Jollivet from the environs of Auray, Jacques Glais from La Trinité, and Michel-Anne Sébastien Le Monnier from more proximate Theix. *Notaires*, of course, knew the land market like no one else and were on the most intimate terms (economically if not socially) with noble families of any *roturier*.[13]

In fact, though the Galles themselves kept their main focus on the business and finally on careers in government and military service while avoiding extensive land purchases, their circle of friends and associates—who with them will define the kin-driven bourgeois ascent that is the subject of this book—figure among the most prominent bourgeois land buyers of the late old regime. Among the dozen or so

13. ADM, L 453, Capitation (1785); T. J. A. Le Goff, *Vannes and Its Region: A Study of Town and Country in Eighteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1981), 151–75, also Appendix I: "A Proceeding for Expulsion under *Domaine congéable*," 367–77; ADM, En (fonds des notaires) 3443–68 [Le Ridant]; E 1062–72 (papiers de famille Jollivet).

names highlighted by Le Goff are Le Ridant, Glais, and Le Monnier, *notaires*, along with the brothers Danet (future *alliés*), Joseph Lallemand (future *alliés*), and Armand Serres (from the successful branch of the Galpins-Audrans, who took his wife's name), all wealthy *négociants* in the grain trade. Veuve Galles pioneered in a world a-making. What makes the story so fascinating, however, is that such bourgeois success can hardly be viewed as a challenge to the nobility, an assertion of some innate drive for class promotion; it was instead a process of joining with and, in the case of the *notaires*, almost co-opting the local nobility without entering it. In the longer run, several of these figures and their children will become prominent revolutionaries (though moderates) *and* counterrevolutionaries (mostly moderates), who will certainly buy church and émigré land, but will also arrange internal family purchases among émigré nobles or even return at cost lands they bought and held for noble friends, as René Jollivet will do for the Marquers and the du Plessis of Auray. What *is* forming, and it is equally fascinating to see a woman at the heart of it, is a bourgeoisie that will "come to power" during the Revolutionary-Napoléonic era, but not within a political discourse of antagonism, whether class antagonism against nobles, religious antagonism against Catholicism, or political antagonism against kings. Rather, it is a milieu where social ties, increasingly cemented by kinship, serve to transcend political difference and where accommodation, but neither envy nor supplication, marks relations with the nobility.

To fix the Galles more clearly within that milieu, let us examine the capitation rolls of 1785. Few nobles appear on the list, because those who owned houses in the city usually paid their capitation in the jurisdictions of their country estates, and many only rented apartments in Vannes. Thus the town's wealthiest people are absent. The mean capitation for the entire jurisdiction was just under 12 livres (basically about three days' wages for a worker). Breaking the tax figures down, we find that the vast majority (81 percent) of the population declaring an income were assessed less than 10 livres. Those living in their master's household (clerks, journeymen, apprentices, and servants) are not included in this figure, thus pushing this percentage even higher. A *classe moyenne* largely made up of tradespeople and lesser professionals congregated in the 10–29 livres category, constituting 14 percent of taxpayers. Fifty-three Vannetais (4 percent) paid 30–99 livres, while only nine individuals (fewer than 1 percent) topped 100. Such figures must, of course, be taken as gross approximations of income levels of the townspeople, in part because so many of the rich were assessed elsewhere, and a good number of others must have cheated. (It is indeed surprising to find fifteen out of twenty-two *avocats* and even three out of seven *procureurs* paying less than 10 livres.) Still, wealth in Vannes, as in every other urban center and most villages in late eighteenth-century Europe, was significantly skewed, with the assets and income of a small rich minority offsetting the total wealth of nine-tenths of the population.

The Galles, like most businesspeople, found themselves unable to hide much of their income and so probably suffered disproportionately among the better-off from the tax collector's enterprise. It is nonetheless instructive to discover who paid what in the higher income brackets, and what it might tell us about the positioning of this family on the eve of the French Revolution. In the first place, none of the families

that had been part of the Galles circle, as calculated by marriage and birth records, figure among the sixty-two individuals paying 30 livres or more in capitation. The Galpins are certainly nowhere to be seen, nor are the Dréaus. Joachim Oillic, Marc's second cousin and a lifelong friend of the Galles, had the highest capitation among the five pharmacists in Vannes at 28 livres, and virtually all of the men and women in the merchant community and the artisans trades, the Galles' old milieu clustered along the streets around the cathedral and stretching toward the place du Marché, failed to reach the 30 livre plateau, and many, especially among the lesser trades such as tailoring and shoemaking, fell below 10 livres. But the group as a whole, though they had their poor and distraught members, was comfortable enough, at least if measured by the proportions of journeymen and servants living in their households. To take the example of the fifty-four people simply listed as *marchand(e)s*: twenty-seven men and eight women paid less than 10 livres but still employed a total of eight servants; the thirteen men and five women in the 10–29 livres category had twelve working for them; while Querel of the rue Latine, taxed at 64 livres, kept a (female) bookkeeper. But though the Galles might still keep their accounts themselves in a pay-as-you-go, petit-bourgeois manner, only Querel was in their league financially (and he had been modest in his self-designation, for his business was mainly in wholesale grain), a reality that was rapidly being translated into membership in a new social context soon to be cemented by marriage and proliferating cousinship. The Galles were becoming bourgeois.

Some sense of their new milieu can be gleaned by searching among those assessed more than 30 livres in 1785 for individuals or their descendants related to the Galles, with whom they would marry, who witnessed weddings and births, and who figure in the Galles' correspondence.[14] Bearing in mind that several key families in their lives,

14. I have created a database utilized in previous studies that includes all of the Galles' kin connections and a wide variety of their close friends. It is largely drawn from 140 *actes de mariage* dating from 1670 to 1852, but concentrated on the very detailed acts (120) from 1804 to 1848, which required indications of social status ("Monsieur"/"Madame," "le Sieur"/"la Dame," and no title) to be judged by the officers of the *état civil* (the chief judge of the civil tribunal assisted by the *premier adjoint du Mairie*), which roughly corresponded to the noble and bourgeois elite (about 10 percent in the case of Vannes, with only a handful of nobles); the *classe moyenne* of merchants, master artisans, *employés*, and the like (some 30 percent); and wage earners of all sorts. Economic status can easily be determined from capitation lists (as is the case here) or from the *cens* lists (taxes necessary to be electors under the narrow suffrage of the Restoration and July Monarchy) (ADM, 3 M 25), as well as the list of "Notables" under the Empire. I am working with 416 surnames and 1,042 individuals. Males well outnumber females because of the four witnesses (necessarily male) signing for every wedding, though many women did sign the document as well-wishers. In French records, mothers of bride and groom are listed by their maiden names, one of the main reasons why these documents are so useful to kinship studies. The same can be said for the fact that all witnesses indicate their kinship relationship to the bride and groom (or both, given the number of cousin marriages). The families chosen for this list are based on their connections with our families and their multiple appearances in the marriage documents (giving weight to larger families) and because I am familiar with their histories owing to my intensive study of the city in this period. They also appear regularly in the Galles–Jollivet–Le Ridant correspondence, and by the second half of the nineteenth century, many were their relatives. Also employed are forty-five birth and death certificates. Dates for all are noted in the text, thus avoiding repeated citations. See Christopher H. Johnson, "Kinship, Civil Society, and Power in Nineteenth-Century Vannes," in *Kinship in Europe: Approaches to Long-Term Development*, ed. David Warren Sabean, Simon Teuscher, and Jon Mathieu (New York, 2007), 258–83.

Table 2

Title	Name	Occupation	Residence	Tax	Rank	SCJF*	Connection
LeS.	Danet père	Négociant	Douves	139	2	1S	Fut. allié
M.	Danet fils	Négociant	Calmon bas	135	3	2S	Fut. allié
LaD.	**Galles**	**Libraire**	**Boulevard**	**113**	**6**	**4S,1J**	
Mme.	V. Lallemand	Négociant	Main Lièvre	104	9	2S,1F	Fut. allié
M.	Dubodan fils	Me. d'Eaux	Calmon bas	103	10	3S	Fut. allié
LeS.	Kercado	Receveur	Poids du Roy	90	11	3S	Fut. allié
LeS.	Jamet père	Rentier	Port	80	12	1S	Fut. allié
LeS.	Perret	Procureur	Monnoye	59	19	1S	Fut. Témoin
LeS.	Veil	Rentier	St. François	54	22	2S	Corresp.
M.	Serres	Rentier	Latine	41	43	1S	Cousin
LeS.	Aubry	Medecin	Douves	37	49	2S	Fut. Témoin

*Number of servants, clerks, journeymen, or *facteurs* (agents or salesmen) in the household. The French word *allié* signifies people linked to ego by marriage, even if it might be relatives or in-laws of in-laws. Thus, for example, a daughter of Jean-Joseph Danet will marry Alexis Le Ridant, the brother-in-law of Marc Galles's brother-in-law René Jollivet, while a granddaughter will marry Jollivet's son. Both women are signatories at later Galles marriages, a privilege reserved for closest relatives and friends.

though having residences in Vannes, were taxed elsewhere (nobles du Plessis, Bonté, and du Bot de Grégo, *procureur* Michel-Anne-Sebastien Le Monnier) or did not yet live in the city (Le Montagnier, Marquer, Castelot), we can still identify twelve names with such present or future ties of intimacy to the extending family. They account for one-fifth of the wealthiest people taxed in Vannes. The central figures were Yves Jollivet and Jean-Baptiste Le Ridant, the patriarchs of the two families that will intertwine with the Galles in repeated cousin marriages throughout the nineteenth century. In 1785 Yves Jollivet chose as his chief distinction "Receveur du clergé," meaning that he oversaw the collection of the tithe levied on all benefices of the diocese for the government (formerly the "pope's tenth" ceded to the king in 1580). He was also a prominent *notaire* and a *procureur au Siège présidial*. He paid 30 livres in capitation, and had one clerk and one servant in the house, which was located just around the corner from the Galles, on the rue Notre Dame. His daughter Adelaïde will marry Marc Galles in 1787. At the same marriage ceremony, his son René will wed Jeanne-Marie Le Ridant. Her father, Jean-Baptiste, though having no government function, was also a *notaire* and *procureur* with a higher capitation, 43 livres. His office and family dwelling lay in the shadow of the Saint-Pierre cathedral. Jollivet was titled "Le Sieur" (as Veuve Galles was "La Demoiselle"), which set him apart from the mass of the untitled population, but not "Monsieur," reserved for the nobility and a handful of the most prestigious *roturiers*. Le Ridant, even at the time of his wedding seventeen years earlier, was already a Monsieur. Table 2 lists the others.[15]

Most of these people and their descendants are present or future relatives or marriage partners of the Galles, Jollivets, and/or Le Ridants, who themselves merge into what amounts to a single family over the next three generations. Not surprisingly, the list also repeats the names of several Vannetais whom Le Goff identified as bourgeois active in land transactions at this time. Simply measuring wealth, we see that the

15. ADM, L 453, Capitation (1785).

Galles' inner circle—the Serres, Veils, Jollivets, and Le Ridants—though among the elite, had (declared) incomes of relatively modest proportions. The other key families in their lives were the Le Monniers (Marc's eldest son would marry Joséphine Le Monnier in 1822, and various Le Monniers dot later correspondence), whose current scion, "Monsieur" Sébastien, was a *notaire, avocat*, and chief official overseeing entry into mastership in the corporations of the city. His capitation, registered at Theix, was 56 livres. Veuve Galles in fact was one of the town's richest people in 1785, but the alliances she shepherded did not immediately include the city's first echelon in wealth and honor. This does not mean that they were not well known to one another, or that they did not socialize. In fact, the history of the Danets and Lallemands was similar to that of the Galles and Serres, one of entrepreneurship in the business world (they were grain wholesalers) yielding profits significant enough for them to make serious investments in land. But the Galles' social orientation leaned toward people of the law and public office, especially but secondarily to medical professionals and teachers. Artistic and intellectual interests, nurtured for them by the Audran connection, ran like an undercurrent through all these relationships.[16]

Expanding Horizons

Let us introduce the key members of the Galles' inner nexus.[17] Clearly the Jollivets constituted the most important tie. Yves Jollivet came to Vannes to attend the Collège in the 1740s from the village of Lanouée, north of Josselin, where his ancestors had tilled the land as leaseholders under *domaine congéable*. A prizewinning student, he went on to the seminary with the intention of becoming a Jesuit priest. Yves caught the eye of Jan-Pierre Le Frapper, a *notaire* in Vannes originally from nearby Saint-Avé, who lured him away from his calling to become a clerk in his office. Le Frapper apparently had no children who lived to adulthood, but his brother Germain-Yves, a process server (*huissier*) for the presidial court, had two daughters, the eldest of whom, Jeanne, soon won Jollivet's affection. Upon the death of her uncle, they married and he succeeded to the Le Frapper *étude* in 1762.[18] At least six children followed, the eldest of whom, René, would marry Jeanne Le Ridant in 1787 and become the standard-bearer not only for his own family but also for the Galles and Le Ridants until their next generation matured. Adelaïde Jollivet, Marc Galles's *future*, was born in 1768; her sister Marie-Joseph, who arrived in 1779, would complete the brother-sister exchange

16. See also Bertrand Frélaut, "Une dynastie d'imprimeurs et d'intellectuels vannetais: Les Galles," *Bulletin et Mémoires de la Société polymathique du Morbihan* 124 (2000): 105–31.

17. These sketches are reconstructed from marriage and birth records of the individuals discussed (see note 14), genealogies preserved in the Fonds Galles, the Papiers Jollivet, the memoirs of René Galles and Jules Jollivet, and information drawn from the correspondence. See Frélaut, "Une dynastie," 105–8. Also very useful were searches via the indexes of Bertrand Frélaut, *Les Bleus de Vannes, 1791–1795: Une élite urbaine pendant la Révolution* (Vannes, 1991); and Le Goff, *Vannes*.

18. This process, discussed earlier in Jean Galles's accession to his father-in-law's print shop, was common throughout the trades and professions of old regime France, for (like landed inheritance) it provided continuity of the patrimony, business, or "house" in the absence of a son, or at least one deemed capable of continuing in the role. Julie Hardwick examines the procedure in detail for her notaries of Rennes. Julie Hardwick, *The Practice of Patriarchy: Gender and the Politics of Household Authority in Early Modern France* (University Park, PA, 1998), especially chaps. 3 and 6.

by marrying Jean-Marie Le Ridant in 1798. Another sister, Jeanne-Vincente, lived to adulthood (she signed the registers at the double wedding in 1787) but died before marrying. Two brothers, Augustin and François, sought their fortunes overseas, the first in the Mascarene Islands (Réunion today), the second in the Antilles.

Jean-Baptiste Le Ridant married late, at the age of forty-one, in 1768. He was born of landowning farmers in Sarzeau on the Presqu-isle de Rhuys south of the Gulf of Morbihan, an area where *domaine congéable* did not exist. His immediate family members were substantial landholders, but had dozens of relatives of lesser wealth and status strewn across the large commune. Rhuysois prided themselves on their independence; the district produced an inordinate number of army and navy officers. (One can see the Quiberon peninsula and Belle-Îsle from its southern shore.) Jean-Baptiste Le Ridant, however, chose a career that exactly paralleled Yves Jollivet's. After a solid education with the Jesuits, he clerked with Jean-Marie-Pierre Nicolazo de la Grée, a resident of Saint-Patern parish (Vannes *extramuros* to the east), and married his daughter after the master's death. Françoise Nicolazo had just reached her majority (twenty-five years) three days before the wedding (February 15, 1768) and could legally speak for herself, since her mother was also dead. But in fact three of the four principal witnesses were male relatives: Louis-Joseph de la Chasse, *conseiller au Présidial*, a robe noble who possessed the Château de Coëtanfao, listed as a "relative" (*parent*); a cousin of the bride's mother (a Maguero) whose mother was a de la Chasse; A.-L. de Launay, *avocat au Parlement* and *sénéschal de Régaires de Vannes* (the seigneurial court of the diocese), a powerful figure in local politics, like de la Chasse, and an *allié* of Françoise; and M. Illiac, *procureur*, who cannot be identified, but also her in-law. The groom was represented with one official *témoin*, M. Le Gueranic, his cousin-german, son of his mother's brother. It was clear that the talented "Monsieur" Le Ridant was moving into a circle of some importance in the city. And among the other signatories we find Jean-Charles-Gilles Aubry, a physician who was a correspondent of the Royal Society of Medicine.

The Le Ridant progeny arrived early and often. Jeanne-Marie Rose, René Jollivet's *future*, was born in 1769, followed by Jean-Marie Jacques in December 1770. As he was their first son, his godparents were selected with special care. They were Jacques Col de la Chapelle, a wealthy *rentier* and *financier* who, along with the Galles' friend Veil, were the only investors (each at a sizable 25,000 livres) from Vannes in the Société d'Angola, a Nantes-based joint-stock company in the slave trade founded in 1748,[19] and his wife, Marie Pisan, "La Lachapele." The midwife listed on the baptism papers, perhaps not coincidentally, was Marguerite Galpin, a member of the Audran branch remaining in the trades. As it turned out, this boy did not reach maturity. His favored name was that of his godfather Jacques, so the *notaire* and his wife decided to bestow Jean-Marie (*tout court*) on their next son. Perhaps they did so because the first was sickly, but the new boy, who came in 1776, did not receive outside godparents, settling for Jean-Baptiste Le Gueranic, his uncle *à la mode de Bretagne* (actually his father's first cousin), and his seven-year-old sister Jeanne-Marie (who signed her name pretty well). This Jean-Marie would be the Le Ridants' most successful child, making his

19. Le Goff, *Vannes*, 88.

way in the military, with the fervent aid of his brilliant wife, Marie-Joseph Jollivet, to the highest ranks in both politics and the army during the Restoration and the July Monarchy. His brother Louis, born a year later, became a fallen Chouan hero of some note, while Jean-Marie himself would be one of two men condemned to death after the ill-fated counterrevolutionary struggle at Quiberon (1795) not to be executed. The two other Le Ridant children would play crucial roles in expanding the web of relationships placing their families at the heart of Vannes's politics—both conservative and liberal, although as we shall see, such terminology is ultimately quite misleading. Marie-Josèphe, who was born in 1772, would marry the firstborn of Michel-Anne Sébastien Le Monnier, Joseph, in 1796. We will meet Joseph on several occasions pleading the cause of Napoléon later on. His brother Mathurin, who married a member of the pro-revolutionary Jamet family, fathered Marie-Josèphe Le Monnier, who closed the circle in wedding Jean-Marie, the first son of Marc Galles and Adelaïde Jollivet, in 1822. Alexis Le Ridant, the baby of the family, born in 1780 (his mother lived until 1802 but had no more children who were baptized), after amassing a fortune in land investments, reached to the left in his 1811 marriage to Virginie Danet, whose father, one of Vannes's richest men, was a moderate revolutionary, constitutional monarchist, and federalist who went on to significant public service after surviving the Terror.

The stories of Yves Jollivet and Jean-Baptiste Le Ridant demonstrate a pattern of upward mobility under the old regime different from the Galles' but just as typical. Both were rural migrants drawn initially to the city by the magnet of the Collège. But they came from sufficient wealth to finance their educations and their "establishment" in the notarial profession. Although country lads were making good everywhere in France, the pool of better-off peasants was notably larger in the Vannetais (and indeed in much of Brittany) because of the peculiar characteristics of land tenure in the region. The Jollivets were more typical than the Le Ridants, farming traditionally under *domaine congéable*. The peasants in this system leased concentrated farms of some size (usually four to twelve hectares of tillable soil), normally from nobles or the church for long terms (up to nine years), but owned outright everything but the land itself: buildings, livestock, equipment, and all the crops. They could be terminated (*congédié*), but it was in everyone's interest to maintain continuity, even from generation to generation. *Édifices* (the general term for the farmer's part) could be bought and sold, inherited, or sublet with the permission (usually pro forma) of the owner of the *fonds* (the land), thus allowing the more enterprising to increase their wealth. Also, for reasons not entirely clear (though it probably had something to do with Breton *noblesse oblige*), the landowners "hesitated to treat the rents of *domaine congéable* as purely economic revenues," thus leaving greater surpluses in the peasants' hands than would otherwise have been the case and rewarding their hard work.[20]

Le Ridant's father, Yves, was listed as a *propriétaire* and a resident of Sarzeau parish, and his mother was a Le Gueranic, another prominent name in the same parish.

20. T. J. A. Le Goff, "Économie d'échange et société rurale (XVIe–XVIIe siècle)," in *Histoire de Vannes et sa région*, under the direction of Jean-Pierre Leguay (Toulouse, 1988), 125–26. For a detailed examination of the rural economy and society (and the place of land tenure arrangements within them), see Le Goff, *Vannes*, pt. 2.

It is not clear from the records whether they still farmed themselves or had already risen to the status of bourgeois "living nobly" on their landed revenues. Here, if not farmed by medium-sized owner-occupiers, the land was put out in *métayages* of some scope, which allowed both farmer and landowner to market the produce. Sometimes referred to as the "Beauce armoricaine," Rhuys, despite the huge holdings of the Abbaye de Saint-Gildas, had a commoner population who could gain access to resources and improve their lot over the generations. In this the Le Ridants were not untypical.

A third pattern of mobility is represented by Sébastien Le Monnier. Born in the nearby village of Theix in 1736 to a family of *roturier* landholders and *notaires*, he had a head start on the likes of Jollivet and perhaps Le Ridant as well. Already at the time of his marriage in 1770, he had augmented his training as a *notaire* to become an *avocat au Parlement* and a *conseiller du Roy*, as well as obtaining the role of *procureur en la Maîtrise de Vannes*, meaning that for a fee, he carried out the certification of new masters and investigated trade conflicts. In that role he undoubtedly knew the Galles well, given the interminable La Forest affair and other matters concerning their trade, including the certification of Marc. He was an official resident of Saint-Pierre parish in central Vannes. "Monsieur" Le Monnier married well. Marie-Jeanne de Conlou was the *fille mineure* of Monsieur Louis-Gilles de Conlou, *capitaine des vaisseaux* of the Compagnie des Indes, whose wife was a du Parc, a name appearing in later Galles-Jollivet correspondence and wedding certificates and as a marriage partner of a Dubodan descendant. The key to Le Monnier's success, however, was his service as the agent overseeing the *seigneurie* of Theix for the absentee noble family of Rosmadec. The relationship was close enough that Baron Rosmadec agreed to act as godfather for Le Monnier's daughter in 1781. The seigneur's influence also no doubt had something to do with his agent's nailing down a lucrative position as *procureur* in the Maîtrise des Eaux et Forêts. Over the next decade, as already noted, Le Monnier became a major player in the Vannetais land market.[21]

In all these cases the notarial profession figures prominently, and the Galles family cemented association by marriage with this gateway to the legal professions and to intimate resonance with landed proprietorship and municipal office. The status of notaries had been elevated substantially over the previous century, enhanced by their growing legal functions and responsibilities at the behest of the central government, a process already examined in the world of publishing. Julie Hardwick has associated them at mid-seventeenth century with the upper levels of artisans and merchants, and their marriages outside the profession reflected a middling sort of status, but by the later eighteenth century, they were evolving toward the elite. Certainly this was the case in Vannes, and the argument has been made more generally for France as a whole. By the nineteenth century, the sons and daughters of notaries peopled the highest levels of local bourgeois society whether or not they remained connected to the profession.[22]

21. On the Danets and Le Monniers, see Frélaut, *Les Bleus de Vannes*, 198–203 and 13, 25, 32, 96. This remarkable study, along with my own work on the Galles network, notably among the political right not examined by Frélaut, provides the backbone of the genealogical analyses so central to the purposes of this entire book.

22. Hardwick, *Practice*, especially 26–27, 58–58. One of the best measures of this shift is that all were designated "Monsieur," "Madame," or "Mademoiselle" on marriage records in Vannes, 1815–1848, whereas they were often "Sieur" and so on a century earlier. This was the case, for instance, on the marriage

Cultural Leadership and Bourgeois Ascent

Although the foregoing analysis does much to pin down the social and economic dimensions of the Galles' new milieu at or near the top of bourgeois society in Vannes, it was probably their place and that of their circle in the city's cultural and intellectual history that played the major role in elevating them to their positions of civic leadership (and political power) in the next century. This is an area of inquiry that has recently received a growing emphasis in gauging the restructuring of power that occurred in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in France. There has also been a tendency, however, to disassociate the power of ideas and values as they reshaped institutions and processes of governance from that of *class*. It seems instead a question of understanding a "paradigm shift" to a new "dominant discourse" in which the social position and social network of those primarily responsible for articulating the new discourse are not terribly relevant and certainly of less interest than their implications for those who fail to measure up to the norms being established and, again, where "class oppression" is not part of the vocabulary. One of the virtues of an investigation such as this one is that all of the players and their relationships (especially those of kinship) can be *named* and directly associated with the ideas and values that come to define the emergent framework of power / knowledge.

Marc Galles was above all an intellectual. By the time of his marriage and establishment as head of the Galles enterprise in 1787, he had already acquired the title "imprimeur-humaniste de Vannes." He had received the same training as his cousin at the hands of the Jesuits and had access to the same marvelous shop and personal library. He inherited from his father, Jean-Nicolas, a way with words and clearly outdistanced him in his level of learning. It was he who actually brought to fruition his uncle Nicolas's plan to create a literary society in Vannes. Although it was informal, operating rather like a salon, he gathered in his home a number of men (and perhaps women) who met irregularly to discuss artistic, literary, and philosophical issues. His years in Paris with Jean-Marie and the Audrans at the Gobelins had given him access to most of the latest currents of thought, especially as they related to the plastic arts. This experience he shared with like-minded people in a provincial town hardly known to that point for its cultural sophistication, one, with the exception of the Galles' entourage, that had been effectively bypassed by the *culture des Lumières*. Still, the Collège, especially under the catholic range provided by the Jesuits, made live theater a reality, and the cathedral, with a fine organ and successive music masters of talent, brought musical enrichment to the city. Religious institutions, both in the multiple functions of the diocese and in the eight regular houses, held a strong place in Vannes, though with some four hundred clerics in a population of nine thousand, they were not over-

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certificate of *notaire* Yves Jollivet but not his son "Monsieur" René twenty-five years later. Regarding the larger picture, see Sébastien Jahan, *Profession, parenté, identité sociale: Les notaires de Poitiers aux temps modernes, 1515–1815* (Toulouse, 1999); Jean-Paul Poisson, *Notaires et société: Travaux d'histoire et de sociologie notariales*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1985, 1990); and Louis Halpérin, dir., *Avocats et notaires en Europe: Les professions judiciaires et juridiques dans l'histoire contemporaine* (Paris, 1996). For a study in historical perspective, see Ezra N. Suleiman, *Private Power and Centralization in France: The Notaires and the State* (Princeton, 1987), which shows that while the *notaires* may have participated in and benefited from centralization in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, they resisted giving up their relative autonomy in the later twentieth.

whelming. There had been some theological debate in the middle decades of the century, but with Jansenism defeated (largely the work of Bishop Bertin) and the Jesuits gone, the last years of the old regime were intellectually barren in matters of religious thought. Perhaps this explains the steep decline in new recruits to the male orders in the 1770s and 1780s, even if the service orders of women (Notre Dame de la Charité, Augustines de la Miséricorde, and so on) continued to do well. Vannes was a Catholic town, but hardly an outpost of obscurantism. And with intellectuals like Galles and his circle (we have seen that Perrine Le Jeune was a good candidate to be a member of it), there existed active voices for reconciling religion and the new knowledge.

No figure was more significant in this regard than Jean-Gilles-Charles Aubry, a physician born into a merchant family in 1751, whose uncle was a priest and whose sister took vows with the Ursulines in 1778, the year he received his degree from the school of medicine at Montpellier, arguably the best in France. The connections between the Aubry family and J. B. Le Ridant and/or the Nicolazos seem strong early on: "Aubry *ainé*" (the elder, probably Jean-Gilles's uncle, since his father died in 1759) signed the couple's marriage document in 1768, and then Louise Olivier, the aunt by marriage (to *procureur* Olivier) of Dr. Aubry's wife-to-be, Marie-Jeanne Olivier, whose father was surgeon major with the East India Company, would be the godmother of Louis Le Ridant in 1777. Aubry became a correspondent of the Société royale de Médecine, publishing a number of scientific papers about agriculture and meteorology. He also pioneered the vaccination procedure for smallpox in the region. Aubry is mentioned in the correspondence of both Adelaïde Jollivet Galles and her brother René and was almost certainly a member of Marc Galles's "salon." We know that they served on the city council together in the 1780s. Aubry remained active politically during the Revolution in the moderate-federalist camp, was imprisoned during the Terror, but went on to teach and carry out botanical research at the École centrale, which for a period replaced the Collège.[23]

The Galles and Jollivets were also intimate friends with the Lorvols. Alexis-Joseph Lorvol was the *greffier* (clerk of the court) of the Maréchausée and had sufficient knowledge of medicine and health issues to serve as the town's *officier de santé* early in the Revolution, which he embraced with enthusiasm. His son Michel-Marie had become the family doctor for the Galles-Jollivet families by 1795 and attended several future pregnancies. Both men could well have discussed questions of science in the Galles' circle.

Joachim Oillic, however, seems to be the key figure in many relationships, familial and intellectual. The town's leading pharmacist, he wrote several studies on medicinal plants and was an avid botanical artist. He and Aubry shared a confluence of interests. Oillic was a signatory at virtually all the family weddings well into the nineteenth century and was related to the Galles through his aunt Perrine, Jacquette Bertin Galles's mother. Marc's cousin once removed, he was also his best friend. Joachim's sister Anne-Marie, a rare female revolutionary, was married to Alexis Lorvol. In 1771 Oillic wed Rosalie Le Drevo, the daughter of a landowner from Arradon, whose family's lands by the sea may have been the source for later vacation homes of the Jollivet-Galles tribe. The main witness was Alexis Lorvol. Among the other signatories were Gabriel and Marguerite Danet. This connection arose through Marguerite's

23. Frélaut, *Les Bleus*, 106–7. For the genealogical database, see note 14.

sister Perrine Devau, Joachim's mother. Gabriel Danet, a grain merchant, became one of Vannes's wealthiest *négociants*, topping the capitation list in 1785. Son Jean-Joseph Danet emerged as one of the key figures in regional politics during the Revolution and Empire. Closing the circle, his daughter Virginie Danet married Alexis Le Ridant in 1811. In 1775 Joachim Oillic purchased a larger pharmacy shop and house, in the place Main Lièvre in the heart of the old city, from the apothecary Jean-Marie de Bray, also close to the Galles family and a likely participant in Marc's discussion group.

Oillic bridged science and art in his interests. Others in the circle from the artistic side included Jean-François Autissier and Jean-François Jamet. Both had connections of kinship with the Galles, Jollivets, or Le Ridants. Autissier married Perrine Le Frapper in 1763, thus making their many children cousins of René, Adelaïde, and Marie-Joseph Jollivet, connections that remained strong in the next generation. The Jamet relationship was a bit more distant genealogically, connected via the Le Monniers (about whom more shortly), but members of their family figure in several Galles/Jollivet weddings and baptisms later on. Jean-François Jamet was born into a growing family in 1764, and his brothers and sisters would populate the city with many of its future civic leaders, especially on the cultural front. He himself married Scholastique Glais, appropriately named as a daughter of a family of learned *notaires* and teachers, but they seem to have had no children. Jamet was a clerk of the court (*huissier*), but his true home was in the arts. According to his grandnephew, the historian and archaeologist (and intimate of Louis Galles) Dr. Thomas de Closmadeuc, Jamet was "a man of commanding presence and amiable and refined countenance, a great connoisseur of painting and music and a collector of paintings and engravings."[24] He was also an artist and a teacher of the craft, later heading the department at the École centrale from its inception in 1796. As a private teacher, he developed the talents of a young man who would become Vannes's most famous gift to the art world in this era, Louis-Marie (*dit* Jean-François) Autissier, the renowned miniaturist. His father (and Marc's friend), Jean-François Autissier, was an artist and intellectual too, whose day job was also as a *huissier*, a profession he learned as a young migrant from Melun from Jean-François Jamet's father, Nicolas.

All these interesting people gathered around the "imprimeur-humaniste" Marc Galles. Their civic and cultural concerns united them. Several, like Marc, were public servants (he and Danet *ainé* were also judges on the Tribunal de Commerce). It was a world where business, the law, administration, and the arts intermingled. And it was cemented—and would be more so in the following generation—by kinship.[25] What about politics? That turned out to be another story as the drama of the Revolution forced these budding cultural leaders in the city to choose sides. As we shall see, despite the place of Vannes as a crucible of revolution and counterrevolution, these people all, figuratively and literally, kept their heads, but the bonds among them were stretched to the limit. Still, in the long run, as we shall see, kinship ultimately prevailed over politics—or, better put, remade politics.

24. Quoted ibid., 118.

25. The significance of kinship as a bond in the world of intellectuals is underlined in the remarkable study by the anthropologist Adam Kuper of Charles Darwin's circle, *Incest and Influence: The Private Life of Bourgeois England* (Cambridge, MA, 2009).

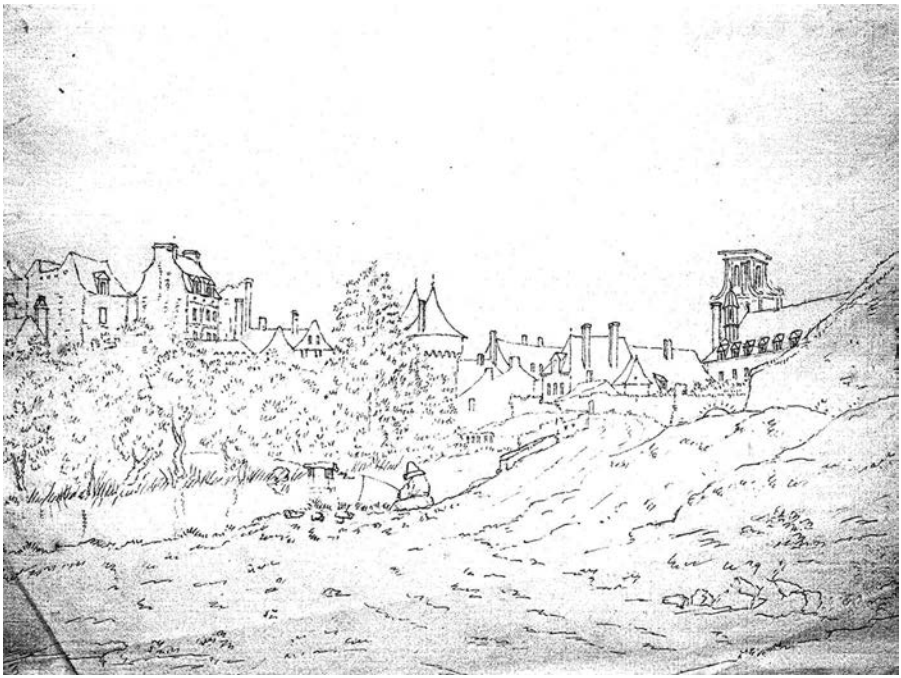

Figure 4. Drawing by Marc Galles, *View of Vannes at the Porte de Prison*.

So who was Marc Galles, their leader? Here is a brief portrait written by his grandson René, no doubt based on his aunt Marie Jollivet Le Ridant's assessment: "A leader of real ability, his disposition was not always steady [*son caractère n'était pas très égal*], but this was a remarkable mind. He cultivated simultaneously letters and the beaux arts. A good musician, he drew wonderfully well. He wrote a long essay, 'Voyage au Lénet,' not yet published, revealing his aesthetic philosophy."[26]

We can indeed appreciate his talents, and his work as an artist attests to a sensibility equally prominent in his writing. Four of his completed drawings remain among the family papers. They are typical of the style of the age, and well enough done. The drawing and perspective are generally solid, and the overall form invites the viewer into the picture. The subject matter evokes tranquillity and nostalgia. The two scenes at Rieux focus on the famous ruins of the château. Both are dated 1781. The first has a harvest scene in the foreground, the classic women's work in bundling the sheaves nicely depicted; the second, from a different angle, shows sheep and cows grazing in a world at peace, with two soldiers chatting on the road. The two (undated) gentle visions of Vannes from its outskirts give a sense of its renowned beauty. The first is a view from the east looking northwest along the Douves de la Garenne. The twin towers are the northeastern gate to the city, the Porte Prison, while the tower of the

26. René Galles, "Journal," 1:3, ADM, 2 J 80 (6), subsequently cited as René Galles, "Journal," by part number and page.

Saint-Patern parish church rises above the Jacobin convent; to the left are houses above the city's east wall, itself obscured by trees. The angle thus leaves to the left both the cathedral and the powerful ramparts built by the dukes of Brittany, the postcard prospect of "old Vannes" today. Galles opted for a bucolic and simple Vannes—in fact, not Vannes at all but the heart of the *faubourg* where his family was rooted, the nostalgia of a secure and self-confident bourgeois who now feels comfortable with (and proud of) his common origins. The other view is *extramuros* as well and carries a similar message, though its precise location is difficult to gauge.

Marc Galles's only surviving manuscript, "Voyage au Lénet,"[27] written in 1786, refers to an imagined place on Iona where the feast of the grape pressing in honor of Bacchus was said to have originated. In Athenian tradition, this was the root of tragedy: Dionysian excess gives rise to inevitable disaster. The heart of Galles's essay, a meditation on happiness, approaches this notion, and the (Christian) escape from it, in a manner that will sound familiar. His own search for happiness is the subject. For years it involved the thirst for knowledge. As he read on and on in all sorts of books, he became more and more confused, stricken with insomnia and raging headaches. Then he sought fulfillment in art, only to discover that talent is "heaven-sent." It was at that moment that he journeyed "within myself," isolating himself from others. "I became *sauvage*," he writes, spending long hours immersed in nature among "animals, trees, streams." And it was "thus that my soul, until then compressed, held under, struggled to burst beyond me, and thus that I saw arise in me pleasures that no one could wipe away." His "dominant passion became the cultivation of flowers," the symbol of the liberation of his soul. This epiphany would be the basis for an appreciation of, and engagement with, all that he encountered. Thoughts of nature always drove away depression. He came to understand that one must experience travail and privation before the road to happiness can open. Tragedy could be subverted by rendering oneself to natural simplicity, letting nature fill one's being.

And so too it was with love: "to see or not to see my Elvire" (and this decades before Lamartine took possession of this obscure myth). "Her least gesture captivates me, but there is also pleasure in not being with her" because of the joys of anticipation. "I conclude with a truth, sad at bottom, yet comforting. Happiness is ultimately based—with some solidity—only in a *mélange*, studied, deliberated, of privation and pleasure. If the balance does not retain its equilibrium, there is no question that one will be unhappy." He closes with a ringing call for engagement in nature's panoply. One can watch "a fly with indifference or with thoughts of the infinite variety of beings . . . that have sprung from the hand of the creator."

Although in some respects this seems like pretty standard Rousseau- or Diderot-inspired return-to-nature fare, there are some interesting twists that carry us more deeply into the Galles' values and the books in their collection that mattered. The experience that Marc described is precisely that of Antoinette Deshouilières, who

27. Quotations are from Jean-Baptiste Marie-Joseph Marc Galles, "Extrait du 'Voyage au Lénet' (1786), "Pages inédites d'un philosophe vannetais du XVIIIe siècle," *Bulletin de la Société polymathique du Morbihan* (1882): 161–65. This essay was published by René Galles as he was exploring the family papers and writing his "Journal." The original is not in the Fonds Galles.

absorbed herself in philosophy and theology only to see herself "torn to pieces," went on to the spirited world of art and theater only to recognize its frivolity, and in the end, wracked with nature's attack on her body, released her soul amid nature's simplicity, whereby the least of creatures in their elemental pursuits had greater meaning that anything reason might conjure. So too does the Quietist naturalism of Fénelon lurk in Marc's words. They also harken, perhaps, to Saint Francis de Sales on the importance of solitude, his reflection on the interaction of love and sadness, and his rejection of "la vie passé" in the leap of the soul to God.[28] But it is perhaps the youthful experience of reading Abbé Pluche on nature's wonderment that rings most strongly. There certainly remains a place for the Christian God, one whose bounty proves His infinite wisdom. And, with perfect consistency, this naturalistic Christianity could argue that God gave humans their reproductive capacities for a purpose, and thus they could not be associated with sin.

We should not wonder, perhaps, that Marc's musings remained unpublished, for they can hardly be classified as original. Nevertheless, he and his cousin Jean-Marie—and Perrine as well, especially if she is indeed the author of the outline on celibacy—read widely, thought seriously about the world, and were immersed in the arts. They were intellectuals in the fullest sense of the word. It was clear that Marc served his profession, and hence his family, honorably, but his passion was the life of the mind.

The history of bourgeois ascent is about much more than success in business, as the ultimate trajectory of this family will make abundantly clear. Intellectual attainment, to be sure, served one's working life in numerous ways (especially in the Galles line's initial profession), but it also meant a great deal in and of itself, particularly in "la France des Lumières." Whatever the source of one's income, respect and attention accompanied the man (or woman) who was well "lettered." He or she would be a shaper of public opinion, "the [king or] queen of the epoch," a voice to be heeded in any debate, whether political, economic, or cultural. Such a person "naturally" accompanied intellectual leadership with political influence. In this age, that combination would generally be depicted as a "moral" responsibility to the community in which disinterested service to the common good would be achieved through the interaction of similarly grounded individuals. Certainly a degree of wealth and property would underlie claims to such powers, but in itself was nothing more than a kind of guarantor, or measure, of one's moral role. This was the essential meaning of *noble homme* (or *bourgeois de Paris*), which in republican dress would become "virtuous citizen." Immanuel Kant best captured the ideal in "What Is Enlightenment" (1784). Could such an ideal constitute the political within a monarchy? Of course; but it would require a sort of "bourgeoisification" of aristocrats and clergy in the sense that they participate in *les droits de la cité*, the political in its original form (the polis), and a king who would abandon claims of absolutism.[29] This vision and these standards became the foundation stone of these families' outlook and experience over the next three generations.

28. See his *Oeuvres* (Paris, 1969), 199, 469, and 49.

29. On the place of "What Is Enlightenment?" in the history of political philosophy, see Michel Foucault, "What Is Enlightenment?" in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York, 1984), 32–50; the trenchant discussion of the Foucauldian notion of modernity via Kant in this essay in Jürgen Habermas,

Political Establishment: Three Families Merge

The political world of the Galles and most in their circle was in many ways attached to what would come to be called the "ancien régime" after 1789. They had risen playing by the rules of that society. Marriage constituted the central mechanism as talented men first wed women (Robert, Buor, Audran) in more established circumstances within their profession and then, with the Le Sieur connection, capped off a drive for monopoly control of the business in their town with a marriage "down." Thereafter they "diversified," using their acquired wealth as a wedge into the society of the law and higher clergy (Bertin). They were deeply tied to the church and its educational institutions by the nature of their business and counted aristocrats and aristocratic clergymen among their clients. Vannes had a large and influential nobility living at least part of the time in its central city and canons of the cathedral who possessed significant political influence in a district where the official jurisdiction defining it was the bishopric. The Galles line found support among these elements in their relations with the state, whether to withstand a crisis or to defend their monopoly. In light of this history, becoming an official *imprimerie royale* almost came as a matter of course.

Each of the resident master printers, Nicolas, Jean-Nicolas, and then Marc, served on the Consulat, beginning with Nicolas in 1744. This was Vannes's commercial tribunal. It was nominally elective from among the trades and professions of the city, but tended to be self-perpetuating and was dominated by the larger *négociants* from the grain trade. To break into its ranks, the right connections and a significant capitation made all the difference—a status that Nicolas and his brother were achieving in the 1740s.[30] The Consulat was the place to be for the ambitious tradesman, for if it did not necessarily produce direct results through decisions favorable to one's own business, it was the perfect vantage point from which to view the local economy and a privileged place of contact with the city's merchant class and most of its lawyers and notaries. It was not, however, a training ground for oppositional politics. As Timothy Le Goff has demonstrated brilliantly, this role fell to the city council. The 1740s, interestingly, were the time when the oligopoly of past privilege in the council was broken by new men such as the banker Veil, who was in fact a close friend of the Galles. (Recall Jean-Marie's comments about Veil's son's marriage that would not be.) It is possible that Nicolas rode the same wave into the Consulat. Things tightened up thereafter, but the council became an arena of political conflict, less perhaps by virtue of pitched battles between progressive and reactionary camps than between activism and inertia, the latter expressed by absenteeism (especially among nobles and clergy), which often prevented quorums. Le Goff shows that the "actives" (who for a time included Marc Galles) became leaders of the pro-revolutionary forces in the city in 1789 and beyond.

The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity: Twelve Lectures, trans. Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, MA, 1987), 260–64; and Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* [1962], trans. Thomas Burger with the assistance of Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, MA, 1989), 102–18, on the ways this essay figures in the development of the concept of the public sphere, public opinion, and "publicity."

30. Le Goff, *Vannes*, 109–10.

Conflicts were largely mundane, often relating to street widening or other physical improvements that might encroach on (often noble) property, but the actives seem to have been more motivated by civic responsibility.[31]

The Galles, in fact, had had one such conflict, a squabble over street repairs in 1786, and Le Goff, in a brief notice, implies that this personal matter sufficed to turn Marc against the "actives" on the city council.[32] Undoubtedly it had something to do with it, but the nature of the family's ties, the level of wealth they had achieved under the monarchy, and above all their religious and political values predicted that Galles would side with the *anti-patriotes*. And in 1787 came the moment when all the Galles' efforts of self-realization (in an old regime manner) came to fruition. Marc's reluctance to marry had less to do with his being lost in thought or general contrariness than with a vision of the perfect wife. There seems no doubt that the Elvire for whom he wrote his "meditation on happiness" was a woman he had known since she was a child, and whose beauty was matched by her social standing: Adelaïde Jollivet. We know that she was well educated and took an interest in art and letters. Her handwriting and prose present a woman at ease in an enlightened environment.[33]

Adelaïde's father, Yves, was at the peak of his career, a *noble homme* who had added to his titles (*notaire royale, procureur au Présidial*) the lucrative posts of *procureur fiscal des régaires* and *receveur des decîmes du diocèse de Vannes*. In the last two capacities he worked intimately with the bishops and undoubtedly cultivated the society of Jacquette Bertin Galles and her family. The two families lived near each other, the Galles' shop and large house *extramuros* at the Porte Notre Dame and the boulevard facing the place du Marché, the Jollivets around the corner on the rue Notre Dame within the walls. As we have seen, Yves Jollivet, though obviously well connected, paid a substantially lower capitation in 1785 than Galles—30 livres as opposed to 113. He nevertheless owned rural properties at Sarzeau and Grandchamp, becoming a landed bourgeois like the widow Galles. The day of Adelaïde and Marc's marriage was a doubly happy one, for her brother René-Marie Jollivet also wed Jeanne-Marie Rose Le Ridant. René, born in 1763, was already an *avocat au Parlement* and is designated a *noble maître* (*notaire*) on the birth entry for his first child the following year. Jeanne Le Ridant was the eighteen-year-old daughter of Jean-Baptiste Le Ridant, who also played an active role on the town council, among the few later anti-patriots (along with Galles) to have done so.[34]

The saga of the Galles now shifts to another register in which the intertwining fortunes of three families, Galles, Jollivet, and Le Ridant, become the matrix for our narrative. The crucial male figure will be, in fact, not a Galles but René Jollivet, who went on to a distinguished public career while bearing enormous familial responsibilities.

31. On these conflicts and their development leading up to the Revolution, see ibid., 112–48.

32. Ibid., 130–31.

33. See, above all, Dena Goodman, *Becoming a Woman in the Age of Letters* (Ithaca, NY, 2009).

34. René Galles, "Journal," 1:2; Ec mariages Vannes, Paroisse de Saint-Pierre, April 16, 1787, and January 31, 1788; ADM, C (non-classé), Rôles d'imposition, Capitation, 1785 (for house locations and economic information).

A precious correspondence between René and his father in 1785–86 allows us to enter his world on the eve of his marriage.[35]

Here he is in Lorient, the booming port steadily outflanking Vannes as the major city of the region. It is August 1785. René is twenty-two and on his first *stage* of a potential career in business and finance. René will work in the Bureau du Trésor, directed by Monsieur Oillic (one of the several brothers of Joachim). Yves Jollivet's main contact in the city, however, is Monsieur du Filhol, another *notaire* with a country house across the straits in Port-Louis. He writes to Yves: "Don't worry about [René]. The company at his *pension* is good, and that's the main thing. Moreover, he'll be busy all day, leaving him little time to go out and about. *M. votre fils* is not susceptible to this concern in any case. He demonstrates a way of seeing things and of thinking far too solid to make one presume that [he] will ever follow in the path of too many young people around here. Besides, I'll keep a close eye on him, and if I see him stepping out of line, I'll let you know immediately." A typical situation for a first placement to be sure, and typical anxieties about the distractions that lurk for young men on their own.[36] Young Jollivet's personality comes through here as well, and all indications in the correspondence support Filhol's assessment. His first outing is with his guardian's son and his wife to their country place. Later, in responding to his father, he says: "You recommend that I have fun during Carnival. Well, I'm working at it already. You add 'with respectable folk.' I have as well." He avoided the dancehalls and their *grisettes* (loose shopgirls), dancing at theater balls in the absence of private ones, always in "good society." He goes on to note that he spends a lot of time socializing with the friends of Madame du Filhol and "with those of the *maison* Henry," a family linked with friends in Auray. The young man also spent his leisure time taking drawing lessons and later, in Paris, took up painting. In this as in much else, he had a great deal in common with Marc Galles. That he was close to Galles's wife-to-be, sister Adelaïde, is clear from numerous references and indications that they too corresponded regularly. He also may have been running interference for Marc on her behalf. We learn as well that brother Augustin is on his way to the Indian Ocean, having portaged at Suez in May, while brother François, his wife, and in-laws were in Lorient in July investigating options for commercial opportunities overseas. Attention to the details of family and friendship occupy much of René's consciousness, certainly appropriate for a young bourgeois soon to take over the reins of his dynasty at home.

At work, Jollivet carried out a variety of functions and was well enough paid to support himself partially, the rest coming from *lettres d'échange* established for him in Lorient. He made a monthly accounting to his father in beautiful double-entry precision. Although he avers that "it has always been my plan to apply myself" to commerce, he knew what he did and did not like. He found his current job "easy and

35. Papiers Famille Jollivet, ADM, E 1050, cited by correspondent and date in the text.

36. Among many references, see Steven Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled: Family Life in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, MA, 1985); and Gabrielle Houbre, *La discipline de l'amour: L'éducation sentimentale des filles et des garçons à l'âge du romanticisme* (Paris, 1997), especially 284–88.

routine," but says that he needs to learn as much as possible about "banking because of its close relationship with commerce." He looked forward next to a place in a "large commercial house" in Nantes.

But his father had other plans for him. Circumstances had arisen that made possible a placement for René in a government office in Paris. Their Parisian friend Monsieur Michel was charged with looking after René and assisting him in his quest. The key to their hopes was the marquis de Sérent, a nobleman with vast holdings in the Vannetais whose wife was Yves Jollivet's principal client. De Sérent was "all-powerful and very well placed at court, being the *gouverneur des princes* and the sole Breton able to obtain entry" for René. The goal was "to procure a recommendation" on his behalf from "Mme. de Sérent." It took until January even to initiate the contact. Meanwhile, young René tasted the life of the capital. Michel, like his previous mentor, du Filhol, was concerned, as he wrote to Yves upon René's arrival in September 1786, that René needed an interim position, for, despite his "sense of responsibility," we know "how pernicious a long period of idleness can be to youth in a city where its seductions are so numerous and difficult to avoid." His father set René up with one Foucault de Pavant, *notaire au Châtelet*, rue Ste. Croix de la Bretonnerie, where by November, René could report, the work "keeps me busy and serves to distract me." Moreover, he had registered for some courses in law, but had misgivings ("I fear that I would cut a sad figure at the bar"), worrying about his "style to plead effectively." All the same, "the title *avocat* would not be harmful to me." In light of what we know about René Jollivet's future, these rather despondent comments seem surprising. But perhaps it had more to do with Paris and his real reason for being there than with occupational uncertainty.

He enjoyed seeing the city's sights, going to art exhibits and taking instruction in painting, and spending happy hours at the Bibliothèque du Roy, but mostly he grumbled, reminding us more of Jean-Nicolas Galles than his cousin-in-law to be, Jean-Marie. The latter, incidentally, is not mentioned in this correspondence, even if "friends at the Gobelins" (presumably Audrans) are, though briefly. Jean-Marie would not come to the big Galles–Jollivet–Le Ridant wedding a year later, either, further confirming the supposition of his alienation from Vannes. In any case, young René complained endlessly about Paris—about being "bespotted" (*croté*) by mud and worse every time he walked out the door, about the distance from his—quite nice—Hôtel de l'Angleterre in the rue du Mail to his *notaire*'s, but above all about the dozens of excursions he had made in his place chase, "dodging twenty thousand vehicles to go to see people who I'm almost certain not to find at home." Paris traffic *was* horrible, as hundreds of cases before the *commissaires du Châtelet* attest,[37] but the real issue was the degradation of scrumming for an opening into *le monde*. As if composing a metaphor expressing his disdain for the hypocrisy of courtly manners and *esprit*, René wrote his father on New Year's Eve, 1786 (obviously spending it alone):

> The New Year is not a privileged moment for feeling the duties of tenderness and gratitude. I don't know why this time has been chosen—as if every day of

37. Thomas Crow chose as his cover illustration for *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven, 1985) a traffic dispute, a detail depicted in Claude Gillot's painting *The Scene of the Two Carriages*.

> our lives ought not to be equal. It serves, if you will, as a reproach to us all. It is unfortunate that we have been forced to hide behind so feeble a mechanism, one that always degenerates into an affair of pure etiquette. What are the motives of the policy to maintain this simulacrum of pagan practice. I pray you believe that not only at this New Year but at all moments of life do I extend my tenderness and gratitude to you and our family.

Despite his dark mood, René kept trying. It did not help that his brother François had failed in his attempt to be taken on by the Compagnie des Indes, but the de Sérent connection still seemed alive. Finally, a position opened up in the central office of the Garde des Sceaux, France's minister of justice. Assured by a letter from Madame de Sérent's secretary that the marquis would see him, René went to Versailles only to find the great man absent. He kept his request with Justice afloat, continued to study the judicial system assiduously, and then, on February 19, 1787, abruptly informed his father that he was coming back to Vannes to take his license in the law. He would not return to Paris until 1815—as deputy to the Chamber from the arrondissement of Vannes.

But he had another reason for coming home. Her name was Jeanne-Marie Rose Le Ridant. Curiously, René does not mention his approaching marriage in the correspondence with his father, even though this would have been the province of his mother. Perhaps the abrupt timing of his return was caused by some rift with Jeanne. More likely he knew he was done with Paris, and his wedding was two months hence. How well did René and Jeanne know each other? It is hard to say. There is a single, mysterious letter in this collection,[38] written to René at his office in Lorient but forwarded to him "chez son père à Vannes" by a young woman close enough to him not to sign her name, surely Jeanne, closing with these words: "With the same esteem in which you hold me, I am your true one; on this 6 August 1786, adieu, be well." The letter indicates that René had written her many times while she was away tending to her dying aunt, a nun at the Recollets convent near Sarzeau, the Le Ridant hometown. Now the aunt has died and Jeanne is inconsolable, for this was a woman she loved "so dearly that my only joy is to be near her" as she visits her grave at the convent. This is her first letter to him (after many promptings), but she excuses herself not because of her duties and her pain, but because she fears that she will say something that will cause him to lose his esteem for her, an honest point she makes again and again. She writes extremely well and clearly, but apparently doubts her ability to express her love convincingly.[39] It also appears that at the time she was considering taking vows herself, for she is planning to stay at the Hospitalières upon her return to Vannes rather than with her parents. Nevertheless, this letter, long and convoluted, is a plea for his love and understanding. The fact that it was saved by the Jollivet family is the best indication that it was critical in the ultimate success of the courtship, though it is mad-

38. ADM, E 1050. This was sent to him between his stays in Lorient and in Paris.

39. "You know that people often judge the actions of another to their disadvantage. If my letters had not succeeded [*parvient*] with you and had shown me in a bad light, only then to make you upset with me, you can understand that my reason [for not writing] is palpable. If you had stayed in your own *pays*, things would have been different." This is the heart of it.

dening that further correspondence between them after René went to Paris does not exist. We can only assume that the intervening months had solidified their relationship, perhaps with the aid of her mother and of Adelaïde Jollivet.

And so, on April 16, 1787, in the great medieval cathedral that was the pride of the city, three families out of the *faubourgs* and the villages, now true *bourgeois de Vannes*, cemented their puissant alliance. All the parents save one, Jean-Nicolas Galles, were alive, an unusual thing for that day and age. Yves Jollivet and J.-B. Le Ridant were *notaires, procureurs*, and tax collectors who had married daughters of notaries, as was Jacquette Bertin Galles. Money, print, the law, landed property, intellectual and artistic interests, and civic activism came together. The list of signatories went on and on and was identical for both weddings. Although it included names from their more modest roots in Sarzeau, Lanouée, Saint-Patern, and Saint-Salomon (Le Gueranic and Maguero, kin of the Le Ridants, Granelle and Berugeay, kin of the Jollivets, and the ubiquitous Galpins for the Galles), others reflected the principals' new status. There were no fewer than four members of the Serres family, the now wealthy *négociants* whose very name (for they came from the Galpin male line) signaled turning one's back on an ordinary past. Two male Col de la Chapelles, Le Ridant god-kin and *financiers-propriétaires*, witnessed the marriage, as did the Latours, *père et fils*, cloth merchants, linked through the son's wife, a Housset, to the Jamets and Jourdans. The big grain merchant contingent was represented by Pierre-Marie Danet and L.-M.-C. Gravé de la Rive. Besides all the parents and assorted aunts and uncles, most of the brothers and sisters signed in: Perrine Galles Le Jeune (and her daughter Angelique, now fifteen), Jean-Marie, Louis, and Alexis Le Ridant, and René and Adelaïde Jollivet (for each other). Adelaïde's older brothers were off to their isles, and younger brother Eugène was in Paris, while Marie-Joseph Jollivet (the little sister) was apparently deemed too young to sign. The only notable absence was cousin Jean-Marie Galles.

As the newlyweds settled into their routines and began making babies (Fanny Jacquette Galles and François-Marie Jollivet both arrived early in 1788), the world around them was rapidly destabilizing. For those perfectly satisfied with things as they were, dearth in a region dependent on a grain trade with memories of the *taxation populaire* of 1765 still fresh, looming national bankruptcy and political gridlock over how to deal with it, an exiled Parlement of Paris clamoring for revolt, their own provincial institutions in full-scale confrontation with the crown, and the most outrageous things being said about their church were alarming developments indeed. In general, Vannes's relationship to the swirling politics of 1788–89 was largely passive and reactive, with a few timid calls for reform finally appearing on the *cahiers* from the town. Symptomatic was the fact that even the *patriote* party that grew up around the "active" town councilors petitioned only for the doubling of the Third Estate without pronouncing for voting by head in the Estates-General, a position the king would accept anyway. Nevertheless, resentment against the local nobility and church officialdom, whose personnel seemed to be becoming increasingly interchangeable, was palpable, and the representatives of the Third Estate who drew up the *cahiers* for the provincial and general estates sought specifically to terminate the privileges of *receveurs* of the clergy and the *seigneuries*, which struck at the Jollivets and Le Ridants directly.

The fact was that these families as well as the Galles were explicitly dependent on the institutions of the existing regime and would naturally approach change with caution. Moreover, their friends among the grain merchants, especially Danet *ainé*, were again targets of popular wrath late in 1788. As sides were established in those months, Galles, Jollivet *père et fils*, Le Ridant, and Le Monnier lined up with those called *les privilègiés*. Even then, however, others with whom they socialized and whom they considered colleagues in civic responsibility—such as Jean-Joseph Danet, Jean-Baptiste Latour and the Housset-Jourdan-Jamet-Autissier-Caradec circle, and several others—identified with the *patriotes*. Symptomatic of the centrist tendencies of the town's leadership was the ease with which nobles and clergy were able to mobilize support among the Third Estate members of the town council and the indifference of many others during the critical months of December 1788 and January 1789. Le Goff demonstrates that the commoner revolutionaries were outnumbered by the combined forces of the "anti-patriots" and those who failed to come to meetings. This air of indecision and/or moderation would hang over the town's politics throughout the Revolution. And indeed, in this Vannes and its bourgeois elite, whichever side they aligned with, were typical. Historians have naturally focused on Paris and the (relatively few) hotbeds of revolutionary and anti-revolutionary ardor, but we must remember that they represented a minority of the French, whose inherent social conservatism in the end cooled the engines of rapid change. It is this "other France" and its leadership bound through a kinship system of conservation and consolidation that the rest of this book seeks to explore, and to do so especially from inside their shifting *habitus*.

Surviving the French Revolution (If Not Childbed Fever)

The ensuing events at Versailles and Paris won popular acclamation, especially among Vannes's artisanal population. The renunciation of aristocratic privilege on August 4–5 found particular favor in a city where noble town houses and a noble-dominated cathedral cast shadows of inequality everywhere. Vannes had a municipal revolution of sorts, but the institutional structure changed more than the names when the elections decreed by the National Assembly rolled around in January 1790. The mayor since 1778, Alexandre Le Menez de Kerdelléau, *patriote* as of 1788, retained his place by a comfortable margin, and the new municipal council looked a great deal like the old one. One of the factors, no doubt, producing this not very revolutionary revolution was the shockingly small number of active citizens registered, some 392 out of almost 3,000 adult males. Certainly the city's hierarchy of wealth was seriously skewed,[40] but even so, the existing municipality had greatly overestimated the value of "three days' wages," the minimum tax paid to qualify for the right to vote. Later elections changed little. When Le Menez retired owing to family pressures late in November 1790, he was

40. My own analysis of this capitation roll accords with Le Goff's on earlier rolls and indicates that while the average capitation charge was around 9 livres, 85 percent of the taxpayers fell under that figure. ADM, C (non-classé), Rôles d'imposition, Capitation, 1785.

replaced by a rich grain merchant named Guillo du Bodan, whose father and grandfather had been mayors under the old regime.

All in all, there was nothing yet particularly troubling about the Revolution for the Galles circle. They might have smiled at all the symbolic carryings-on for the first Quatorze Juillet festival (and noted that Bishop Amelot pleaded illness to avoid pronouncing the Te Deum that concluded with "God save the People"), but could take heart that all the official publications meant good business and that one of theirs, Le Monnier, was elected to the city council. Still, they had been jolted by enormous *contributions patriotiques*, a makeshift tax levied on the wealthy to weather the fiscal crisis. The Galles (Marc and Jacquette) were slapped with a whopping 1,200 livres, which placed them in a tie for seventh place among the wealthiest people in the city, with only the bishop at 9,000 livres, three grain-merchant families, and two nobles ahead of them, virtually the same lineup as in the capitation of 1785.[41] Such publicly declared signs of social disparity were considerably exacerbated by the mounting grain shortage and the elevation of the price of bread in the Vannetais. Toward the end of 1790, at the moment the *contribution patriotique* was announced, a report by Mayor Dubodan (the new democratic spelling) fixed the number of those in need of public assistance at five hundred, about 7 percent of the population. The continuing subsistence crisis would fuel popular discontent and provide a base for a more radical orientation within the municipality.

But an equal, and ultimately much greater, force arousing mass upheaval was already brewing. Without question, the main reason Bishop Amelot caught a cold on July 14 was the passage in the National Assembly two days before of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. The most egregious error made by the revolutionary government, this measure, signed into law by the king six weeks later, unleashed a storm of protest in Brittany unparalleled elsewhere and led to a permanent state of counterrevolution throughout the province that would not end even when the actual fighting of the Chouannerie finally died out in 1796. The nationalization of the church and the exaction, in November 1790, of an oath before God of loyalty to a new institution that automatically meant an end to *Roman* Catholicism threw thousands of priests and millions of French men and women into spiritual crisis that many resolved by direct resistance.[42] In Brittany, non-juring priests made up the vast majority of the clergy, and their parishioners followed their lead. Timothy Le Goff and Donald Sutherland proved long ago that the principal reason had to do with the mutual respect existing between priest and people in a context in which many of the former were local men, trained in regional seminaries such as Vannes, who spoke Breton (or local French, as the case might be) and embodied regional pride.[43] Interestingly, the earlier abolition

41. For the story of the early Revolution in Vannes, see Le Goff, *Vannes*, chap. 12; and Frélaut, *Les Bleus*,12–18. See Frélaut's index for the individual actors and their roles.

42. See, above all, Suzanne Desan, *Reclaiming the Sacred: Lay Religion and Popular Politics in Revolutionary France* (Ithaca, NY, 1990); and Timothy Tackett, *Religion, Revolution, and Regional Culture in Eighteenth-Century France: The Ecclesiastical Oath of 1791* (Princeton, 1986).

43. T. J. A. Le Goff and D. M. G. Sutherland, "The Revolution and the Rural Community in Eighteenth-Century Brittany," *Past and Present* 62 (1974): 96–119; T. J. A. Le Goff and D. M. G. Sutherland, "The Social Origins of Counter-Revolution in Western France," *Past and Present* 99 (1983): 65–87.

of the regular clergy and the nationalization of its properties caused little popular outcry. In Vannes, as in many other localities, the minuscule number of monks actually housed in their establishments (41 in six residences) may have been a factor in the indifference. By contrast, the eight women's houses, which largely provided medical and educational services (the key source for girls' education), had been flourishing, with 238 nuns and 55 "converts" and novices. This was certainly a major loss, but the lack of response may be a measure of patriarchal values. Beyond this, for those who could afford it, hopes of purchasing former ecclesiastical property might also have served as a disincentive to protest.[44]

Bishop Amelot at first appeared to accept these momentous changes, but on December 16, 1790, at the shrine of Sainte-Anne d'Auray, the region's most sacred site, he preached against taking the oath. This began a series of events that forced the Galles and their friends to take a stand. The bishop's decision had been taken after wide consultation, and it was clear that most of the priests in the rural parishes wished to oppose the Civil Constitution. They also knew that their parishioners were disillusioned with the promises of full relief from seigneurial dues (not to mention the tithe) and frightened of new tax burdens in the offing. Moreover, particularly in the Vannetais, popular religious participation was broad and belief deep. Vituperative exchanges between a minority of (largely urban) proponents of the constitutional church and the *insermentés* occupied the Christmas season, and in early February the defenders of the Revolution in Vannes decided to create a club, allied with its namesake in Lorient, called the Société des Amis de la Constitution de Vannes. The timing underlined two things: that Vannes's *patriotes* lagged far behind most of their compatriots elsewhere (hundreds of such organizations already dotted the nation) and that the religious question, the catalyst, lay at the heart of political conflict in this corner of France. On February 13, 1791, only two days after the club called Friends of the Constitution was announced, the city was shaken by an armed attack of over one thousand peasants from nearby villages, led by priests, responding to the false rumor that Amelot had been incarcerated. Vannes's National Guard acquitted itself well, and the invaders were repulsed, with several wounded and some thirty taken prisoner.

For the Galles circle, it was rather a defining moment, for Jean-Baptiste Le Monnier, lawyer, municipal council member, Catholic, and future Galles in-law, was arrested for having started the rumor and raising rebels in Theix, where he was also the property manager for the local seigneur. The resolution of this crisis nevertheless demonstrates the delicate balance of forces even within the city. The prisoners, including Le Monnier, were soon released, and the bishop returned to the city peacefully, knowing, however, that he would relinquish his miter. The critical problem, of course, was that the farm folk roundabout held the key card: grain. Already in 1791, peasants were withholding grain from urban markets. Initially a political decision, with the rise of the paper *assignats* and the inflationary pressures of a war economy, economic motives were added. High prices and shortages heightened the resentment of the largely pro-revolutionary lower classes of Vannes, providing the Bleus (as the *clubistes* and

44. Figures in Frélaut, *Les Bleus*, 19.

official leadership of the city came to be called) with a mass base. While its hinterland emerged as the core district of counterevolutionary Brittany, Vannes itself became by default a beacon of the Revolution. Though undergirded by lively popular resentment, it was led by a lukewarm "revolutionary" bourgeoisie peopled largely by the same personalities, mostly well-off, if not the wealthiest, who were active in politics under the old regime. They now did their best to keep up with the progressive radicalization of national policy surrounded by the vast "sea" of the Chouannerie. It turned out that they did not do enough.

This great movement, led regionally by Georges Cadoudal, arose only with the *levée en masse* of conscripts (300,000 men for the west) decreed by the Convention in February 1793, but its roots lay in the complex of pressures and values just noted. It also meant that Vannes itself would house a permanent garrison of at least 1,500 troops, whose access to limited resources (wood, in fact, became the most critical) naturally exceeded that of the local poor, creating further tensions. Moreover, even in the city, when the Constitutional Church was installed in 1791, it met with stony indifference. Amelot was relieved of his vestments in a rude fashion, and non-juring priests were harassed, but it proved difficult to replace them, and even the prelate who finally accepted the office of constitutional bishop, Charles Lemasle, became a "suspect" during the Terror. In August 1792 the district ordered the arrest of the refractory priests, following the demands of the Legislative Assembly. A petition signed by six hundred people sought to keep them from being sent off to Port-Louis, and the assistant procurator of the district itself, Claude-Marie Bernard, a leading revolutionary from the beginning, lost his job in trying to defend them. They would be slated by a decree of September 1 for deportation to Guiana, adding a final degree of consternation among the majority of the town and country alike, who left the official churches "empty."[45]

How did the Galles' extended family relate to the events of the pre-republican Revolution? Except for the extreme left of the club (which had successfully urged it to affiliate with the Jacobin club in Paris shortly after its founding), they could, in fact, feel comfortable with the local powers that be. It was obvious that the local government, while dutifully rubber-stamping policy made in Paris, did everything it could to placate Roman Catholic opinion and did its best to prove that the new church could provide suitable spiritual fulfillment. Vannes's governors also clearly understood the power of active counterrevolution in their midst and avoided provocative acts. Members of the municipal council and the district government (Le Monnier and Bernard) had even sided with it. Marc Galles, despite his opposition from the beginning, counted friends and innumerable business and civic colleagues among officials and club members. Future marriage alliances of Galles, Jollivet, and Le Ridant children would be made with the families of Danet, Le Bouhéllec, Kerviche, Caradec, Taslé, and Boullé, all Bleus of prominence. And these weddings would be witnessed by a

45. For these developments, see ibid., 19–28; Ambroise Caradec, "Une élection d'évêque à la cathédrale de Vannes au mois de mars 1791," *Bulletin de la Société polymathique du Morbihan* (1870): 27–33. See also André Moisan, *Charles Le Masle: Évêque constitutionnel du Morbihan, 1791–1801* (Vannes, 1993).

dozen other revolutionaries and their children. All were decidedly moderate as well, and would be suspect during the Terror. Except for a handful of Montagnards from the ranks of the artisans, the Bleus of Vannes were well-off bourgeois for whom the disappearance of the noble and clerical elites of the city opened the way to social and political dominance. Although Galles & Co. initially had less to gain from the collapse of the old regime, it shared with these people their society and their culture. Politics was certainly divisive, but not sufficiently so to destroy other connections. And in Vannes, though seen as prominent Blancs, they had plenty of allies, whose numbers grew with the religious conflict. The Bleus knew better than to try to vilify them, and the record speaks for itself: all kept their heads, their reputations, their property, and their civic roles.

Bertrand Frélaut's detailed analysis of the men who were Vannes's revolutionary leaders shows the multiple ways these Bleu families intermingled over the next two or three generations and cemented their power as the city's political elite through all the regimes to follow, finally providing the same kind of moderate republican leadership in the 1880s and beyond that they had during the Revolution. But the Galles and their various affines did the same, and one must question whether Frélaut took his analysis far enough. Perhaps the "moderate monarchists" (who more happily filled slots during the Restoration and the July Monarchy, but nevertheless also played prominent civic roles during the Third Republic) should be incorporated into his evocation of an "urban elite." And indeed, in his marvelous chart showing the ongoing family connections of the Bleus, various Galles, almost alone from the "outside," had to be included.[46] The point is that although the events of the Revolution brought politics to a pitch never before experienced, the fault line between pro- and anti- was narrow enough to be bridged by recognized social equals.[47]

But more: What, after all, *was* the extended Galles family's political outlook? Although they were skeptical of the process unfolding in 1789 and unwilling to join the Club of Friends of the Constitution, the nature of the constitutional monarchy envisioned in early 1791 was hardly radical, especially the way property qualifications had been established in the city. It *was* a monarchy, after all, and one in which the king had extensive powers. And the countervailing forces that the king reckoned with in the old scheme of things, the estates and Parlement of Brittany, were gone. The Galles coterie could certainly live with the Constitution of 1791 even if their *bon roi* could not. Although their families lamented the disappearance of the traditional church, their own religious outlook was marginally at odds with it, even to the point of doubting the validity of clerical celibacy. They had much in common with the many Bleus who would form Vannes's first Masonic lodge in 1801. Marc died that year, but Jean-Marie, his eldest son, and Yves Jollivet, René's eldest, both joined the Masons after 1815, merging with others of their generation (Bleus and Blancs alike) in a moderate, enlightened philosophy that could still make room for Catholic practice as long as it avoided su-

46. Frélaut, *Les Bleus*, 277.

47. For greater detail, see Christopher H. Johnson, "Kinship, Civil Society, and Power in Nineteenth-Century Vannes," in Sabean, Teuscher, and Mathieu, *Kinship in Europe*, 258–83.

perstition and fanaticism. The key, clearly, is the word "moderate." Would they have been happy among the "English" *monarchiens* led by Mounier and Lally-Tollendal, but defeated in the constitutional debates of 1789? Perhaps, but there is no record of it. Unhappily for the Galles and many of their compatriots somewhat to the left, the Revolution after the religious crisis and the treason of the king was anything but moderate, and the best they could do was to lie low and work hard.[48]

They had the opportunity to do so. Galles remained the *imprimerie royale* of Vannes during the first two years of the Revolution, adding the great flurry of official publications that it engendered to their already profitable business. But the departure of émigrés no doubt hurt their private sales (and left them with unpaid accounts), and the dismantling of the cathedral chapter, along with the ritual simplification of the constitutional service, meant decline in that area. Certainly the collapse of Catholic education, including the seminary, had a negative impact. Moreover, Galles had a rival as of 1791. Laurent Bizette, an apprenticed bookbinder from Rennes, came to Vannes, married the widow of Nicolas Mahé, a *relieur-libraire* from Calmont-Bas, set up shop (on rue Saint-Vincent at the other end of town from Galles) as a bookbinder in 1783, won the right to sell books in 1786 (there is no record that Marc opposed him), and, with the end of government controls, became a printer on January 20, 1791. A charter member of the club, he took over its printing work and shared with Galles all official printing. Bizette's advertising flyer for his bookshop features a full range of works beginning with "Piety" and "Theology" and includes "elementary books for young people" and "all the books necessary for the Diocese, such as missals, breviaries, . . . catechisms in Breton and French." He certainly did well enough, for in 1793 he was able to buy the town house of the émigré Le Valois de Séréac for 23,000 francs, a substantial sum despite inflation. But, as a survey of existing materials shows, Galles continued to do the bulk of the official printing, even in the depths of the Terror, no doubt because of its superior capacity. Marc Galles appeared on one list of suspects, but there is no record of his detention. He was undoubtedly appalled by the "reign of the sans-culottes" and probably suffered somewhat financially, but business and family kept things in focus. Family especially: by 1795, he and Adelaïde had six children. Amazingly, all would survive the ravages of childhood disease, a function of class no doubt, but also of the late eighteenth-century prejudice against the major baby killer of the past, rural wet-nursing.[49]

The burden of a *famille nombreuse*, quite widespread everywhere in France among the bourgeoisie of this age (Bizette had sixteen children, ten from his wife's first marriage, and Le Menez had stepped down as mayor because of his dozen),[50] must have made Galles especially careful not to offend, while wringing as much income from his commerce as possible. He also had his art and studies to attend to and very possibly

48. On Bleu families and the problem of political power structures in Vannes, see Frélaut, *Les Bleus*, passim, especially 108–9, 196–97, 201–3, 271, and 277–85.

49. Galles genealogies, ADM, 2 J 71; Frélaut, *Les Bleus*, 114–16; George Sussman, *Selling Mother's Milk: The Wet-Nursing Business in France, 1715–1914* (Urbana, 1982); and Joan Sherwood, *Infection of the Innocents: Wet Nurses, Infants, and Syphilis in France, 1780–1900* (Montreal, 2010).

50. See Bibliographical Note 12.

was not that interested in politics except as it might impinge on his business. A passage from a long letter from his wife, Adelaïde, to her distant brother Augustin in 1796 gives a sense of their domestic preoccupations:

> According to your last letter, it appears that you still are papa to only a girl and a boy. I'm a bit bolder than you. I have three of each sex, which comes to a half-dozen noisy rascals capable of exercising a patience far beyond my own, which often succumbs. I sometimes tell them about a *tonton* who lives in a country where oranges come from, which makes them envy your children, for nothing ranks higher than this fruit with them. They even imagine that the climate must influence people and that you and your wife never have to scold, something I'm obliged to do several times an hour, and even their father is forced to put his philosophy aside to deal with their naughtiness. But we've been young, too, and I hope that with our care and with time they will become what we are today. Besides, nothing [they do] is excessive.

This charming description of a child-centered world—with Marc a reluctant participant—gives the sense of a somewhat more relaxed post-Thermidorian (and post-Quiberon) atmosphere, but it is a good indicator of a longer-term commitment to expert child rearing, with the public sphere distinctly secondary.[51]

If Galles survived the Terror, it was not without tension. In the first place, the municipality and district administration would naturally be blamed for the flowering of the Chouan guerrilla war after February 1793, despite their appropriate response to the declaration of the Republic, enthusiasm for the Convention, proper registration of all its decrees, and applause for the execution of Louis Capet: the representative from Vannes, Rouhault, was a reluctant regicide. The purge of the Girondists and the rise of federalism in June–July (there is little evidence of deeply federalist convictions locally, but the district came up with only eleven young men to go off "to defend the Convention," and when the day came, only four reported) led the Convention to send Prieur de la Marne as *représentant en mission* to this fetid backwater to bring Vannes into line. Upon his arrival in late October, he wrote to the Committee of Public Safety, "Here, not the least idea of *esprit public*, the people demonstrate no disposition favorable to the Revolution," meaning, of course, to the Terror.[52] Prieur immediately fired the entire local and regional government, shortly thereafter imprisoning all but one of them on charges of "federalism and moderatism." Virtually all but the most radical leaders of the club were now in jail, soon joined by a new influx of relatives of émigrés, nuns, and a variety of others in whose homes "arms" (mostly old hunting rifles and swords) were found. And the club became "La Société populaire régénérée." A guillotine was briefly established in the renamed place de la Liberté—in view of the Galles *imprimerie*—but no victims fell at that point, as the revolutionary tribunal soon took

51. ADM, 2 J 81, 10 Thermidor an IV (July 28, 1796).

52. Quoted in Roger Dupuy, "Entre les Bleus et les Blancs (Révolution et Empire)," chap. 8 in Leguay, *Histoire de Vannes et sa region*, 178–202, quote 192–93.

up residence in Lorient, with its more amenable political ambiance. Nevertheless, by May–June 1794, at the height of the Grand Terreur (during which two refractory priests *were* executed), the prisons of Vannes—often converted convents—were so full that some of the inmates had to be transferred to Josselin. Among the new prisoners was Jean-Marie Le Ridant, a seventeen-year-old lieutenant suspected of training Chouan rebels, who took his place beside suspects like Jean-Marie Bevan, who had written a new version of the "Marseillaise" titled "Fidèles enfants de l'église."

But Marc Galles, however suspect he and his relatives may have been, continued to print. He did publish the apologia prepared by the outgoing administration denying accusations against them, but he also continued to share with Bizette (a strong Jacobin who became a municipal councilman) the job of printing government documents. More important, we learn from one of the few documents relating to local affairs during the Terror to have survived that "Citizen Legalles [*sic*], Imprimeur-Libraire," headed a list of men chosen by the municipality and the Société populaire to plan a museum dedicated to "the Arts, Sciences, and education," specifically because he (and four others) possessed the "proper qualifications to inventory the books and other objects" that would provide its foundation. Obviously, had Marc Galles been viewed as a dangerous person, this would not have happened. Thermidor did not bring immediate relief to the moderates and the right, however, for even the imprisoned administrators had to wait five months for their release. Nevertheless, in time, figures such as Jean-Joseph Danet and Pierre Le Bouhéllec returned to political prominence, and with them, no doubt, the Galles' fortunes. To gauge by the number of publications bearing the Galles imprimatur after 1794 (and the decline of those of Bizette), it would appear that Vannes's happy return to "moderatism" restored the enterprise.[53]

At that very moment, the Chouan forces, ragtag, dispersed, and in many respects the "brigands" they were labeled by the Republic, were giving up their nocturnal "hoot-owl" (*chat-huant*) ways under the organizational genius of Count Joseph de Puisaye, a military officer who had not initially been hostile to the Revolution, but slid progressively into active opposition, to become a disciplined military presence throughout much of Brittany. This move to create an internal army was viewed as the prelude to an invasion, with British assistance, by émigré forces that would end with the restoration of young Louis XVII. Puisaye's success motivated the government to send its most talented general, Lazare Hoche, to command the reinforced army of the Republic in Brittany. The stage was set for the battle of Quiberon, which might be described as the Kosovo (or The Forty-Five) of French royalism, so powerful was the heritage of this historic defeat. (Years later, the young René Galles heard the tales of "the Quiberon" from his mother's friend Gertrude Kerdu, who "had played an admirable role of dedication in the aftermath,"[54] and would never forget her images of heroism and subsequent retribution.) Lasting for a month after initial victories upon

53. Frélaut, *Les Bleus*, 42–63, Galles's role, 56–58. The museum was never installed, but the idea may have been one element in the determination to found a society and museum for just these purposes. Jean-Marie Galles, Marc's eldest son, would be the main force in the creation of the Société polymathique du Morbihan in 1825.

54. René Galles, "Journal," 1:25.

the landing at Carnac, the war finally boiled down to a siege by Hoche's forces of the fortress of Penthièvre at the neck of the Quiberon peninsula, which was taken on July 21, 1795. (By that time, unbeknownst to almost anyone, including his sister, the last son of Louis XVI had died of tuberculosis.)

Whatever the causes of the defeat—British "betrayal," lack of coordination between the invaders and the Chouans, or the sheer talent of the Republic's commander—it was the revenge by the Bleus that seared the memory of the Quiberon into the consciousness of Brittany and the right forever. For the captive combatants were treated not as prisoners of war but as traitors to the nation, therefore subject to prosecution and execution. "Military commissions," established by the two representatives of the Committee of Public Safety possessing "unlimited powers," Blad and Tallien, brought thousands of prisoners to trial, ultimately condemning 450 men to death. Four hundred forty-eight went down before firing squads. The first batch was executed publicly in Vannes. General Sombreuil, who had carried out the capitulation process (Puisaye had escaped), Urbain-René de Hercé, the bishop of Dol, and some twelve other clerics were shot on the place de la Garenne. The shock was profound. The rest of the executions took place in discrete corners of the countryside, and the bodies buried on the spot. As if the military repression were not enough, the first months of 1796 also witnessed the execution of refractory priests who, having earlier been allowed to practice their rites legally after years of clandestine existence, were now caught up in the whirlwind of exceptional laws following the great rebellion. Ten were guillotined in Vannes, among them the saintly Pierre-René Rogue on March 3. He refused several opportunities arranged by the devout to escape. His martyrdom, which led to his eventual beatification by Pius XI in 1934, was sealed by the distribution in the countryside of handkerchiefs soaked with his blood. The somber heritage of the entire trauma, which had also included the quartering of eight thousand republican troops in the city, left Vannes a place where "ordinary counterrevolutionaries"—seething with anger—could feel quite at home.[55]

Two men in the Galles kinship network were caught up in the repression. The first was Lieutenant Jean-Marie Le Ridant, who rode with Puisaye. We are ignorant about his actual role in the Quiberon affair, but he was condemned to death by the last military commission to sit in Vannes (February 27, 1796). For whatever reason, he was amnestied, one of the two *condamnés* not to die. He returned to his family and his sweetheart, Marie-Joseph Jollivet, whom he would soon marry. The second, Adelaïde and Marie's father, Yves Jollivet, did not fare as well. He was imprisoned for provid-

55. The bicentennial study on the battle is Patrick Huchet, *1795: Quiberon, ou le destin de la France* (Rennes, 1995), a title that expresses the continuing sense of drama associated with it. Frélaut has an analysis of the aftermath: Bernard Frélaut, *Quiberon, la répression du débarquement* (Nantes, 1993). On the attack on non-juring clergy, see Frélaut, "Clergé et Révolution en Morbihan: L'itinéraire de Pierre-René Rogue, prêtre réfractaire," in *Les Catholiques et la Révolution française, autour de Pierre-René Rogue, prêtre réfractaire, 1758–1796* (Vannes, 1998), 45–63. Hoche wrote from the scene: "Priests are being guillotined every day in Vannes. And every day old women and young boys come to soak their handkerchiefs in the blood of these *malheureux*, and these monuments of horror serve as flags for the fanatic inhabitants of the countryside who mingle their blood with them to go more quickly to paradise." Quoted in Frélaut, "Clergé et Révolution," 52.

ing financial assistance to the royalists. At his age, and under terrible conditions (473 people died of disease in detention in 1795–96), his sojourn took its toll. His daughter feared that her brother Augustin would not "have the joy of seeing Papa" when he returned to France. "His long detention, the great conflicts that he experienced, the spectacle that we all witnessed have furiously undermined his health. For six months since his release, he is continually bedridden and rarely leaves his room. In Mama, who never changes, he finds solace and infinite attentions. Her good health can't be denied. She puts up with these hardships and sorrows with much courage. I hope that we'll have the pleasure of keeping her with us a long time." The impact of the war in their midst reached virtually everyone. Adelaïde ironizes that "Fanny [her eight-year-old] is sending her *cousine* a doll because she has heard it said that it was a little girl's toy; it's not hers—a rifle, a sword, a drum are what she prefers to all other amusement. This taste is the work of our political situation, which even influences children." And then, reflecting the gender taboo—so marked of late—against *les amazones*, she concludes, "We'll have to wait for peace to put all things in their natural order again." At the other end of the age spectrum, "the War had forced my uncle and aunt Fraper [her mother's brother and sister-in-law] to leave the countryside. They lived in town for thirty months. We have had the sorrow of seeing him die three or four months ago. We are also going to lose our aunt, whom the peace induces to return to Pratel."[56]

Despite the heartache of relatives' deaths and their father's deterioration, the Jollivet family had not suffered substantially through the Revolution. René was primed to take over the reins of the clan. More circumspect than his father politically, he had been extremely successful as a lawyer largely involved in civil cases, many of them having to do with the regulation of land settlements in a district where ecclesiastical and émigré property transfers were numerous. Tragically, his wife, Jeanne-Marie Le Ridant, died in 1792, leaving three small children. Adelaïde paints a fascinating picture of her brother in her long letter to Augustin:

> You know about the second marriage of René to Mlle. Cécille [*sic*] Marquer of Auray. Eugène [another brother] will no doubt be able to tell you something of her exterior qualities and Mlle. Lescoupe who has been kind enough to deliver this letter to you can inform you of the others. She is truly loveable and I think he [René] should be congratulated on his choice. In three months, he will be a papa for the fifth time [and hopes finally to have a girl]. You can see that his family is growing, though perhaps not at the same rate as his means of raising it. Nevertheless, he does well and would do better if he were less softhearted and more *intéressé*. He enjoys a reputation fit to satisfy the most ambitious of men of his condition [*état*]. He even has celebrity. People write to him and he often goes far afield to consult. . . . He has worked very hard and continues to do so without relaxing. It is now just that he gathers the fruits of it.

So here is René, a family man again happily remarried, and a lawyer of obvious skill with a tendency to be perhaps too kind to clients in difficulty. At the same time,

56. All quotations are from Adelaïde Jollivet Galles to Augustin Jollivet, September 1, 1796.

he undoubtedly was winning the goodwill of many distraught royalists facing the trials of the age, while also helping investors find legally valid ways to profit from the upheavals in the land market. Cécile Marquer herself came from a family compromised by the politics of the day, and her husband seems to have stepped forward to make sure some of their property stayed in the family. Records of the sale of émigré property mark his purchase on 19 Messidor an IV (June 23, 1796) of a magnificent house—château, in fact—in Auray for a mere 1,235 francs "sur" Vincent Marquer, her brother and an émigré. He also purchased a house in the rue Saint-François in Vannes that had belonged to the "ci-devant noble" Goyon de Vaudurant. His biggest investment in émigré land, however, was a stretch of properties that had belonged to Mirabeau between Plumergat and Sainte-Anne d'Auray valued at 46,480 francs and including the country house and estate of Truélin that would later be the namesake of their seafront property in Arradon. René also bought ecclesiastical properties of the former Abbey of Saint-Gildas in Sarzeau to the south, while his father got émigré land in Arradon and Grandchamp. Moreover, he assisted the wife of the émigré noble General Bonté to purchase in her name many of his family's properties. Not to be outdone, René's first father-in-law, Le Ridant, picked up pieces of the huge holdings of du Bot du Grégo in Halleguin-Saint-Nolff (12,400 francs) and Keridorel-Saint-Avé (6,025 francs). Many of these properties were partially restored at low cost upon their owners' return, winning the Jollivets and Ridants gratitude and future favors from the regional noble elite after 1815. Interestingly, while the in-laws benefited from the post-Thermidorian land boom, Marc Galles and his mother seem to have been largely content with what they had. As these three families further integrated, this would make no difference to the descendants.[57]

The Jollivet family's youngest sister, Marie-Joseph-Félicitée, is to play a central role in our story and indeed become the conduit to the old nobility. We first meet her shortly after the Quiberon affair. Adelaïde's famous letter offers another portrait. After berating her younger brother Félix-Yves (a royalist newspaper editor in Rennes) for never writing, and when he does, it is in "five or six letters in the same post," then softening to excuse the age and preoccupations of one to whom "we are so attached," she goes on: "Marie-Joseph is a lot like him in character, but she is more judicious. If I could draw a portrait, I would do hers for you, but I absolutely lack the talent. . . . Our sister is not bad-looking without being pretty or beautiful but of good height, with quite beautiful black eyes, an agreeable mouth, a nice plumpness, a healthy color, if a bit brown, and nineteen years old." At this moment, Marie-Joseph was in love with the heroic Le Ridant, spared the firing squad but no less ardent for the cause. She already seems to have been the bellwether and confessor for family affairs. Her new sister-in-law confides in her in another precious letter from this time, written just a month before Adelaïde's to Augustin.

The occasion was a large gathering at the "château" in Auray, a rare look at a "ball" from within. Cécile Marquer Jollivet acts as hostess in her family home, acquired re-

57. ADM, Q 28 178, 180, 233, 228, 124, 165, and 191; Q 26 199; Q 2897 (Déclaration des mutations après déces, René Jollivet).

cently by her husband. She is "taking time out" from the ball going on in the *salles basses*. "I don't like to dance," she tells Marie-Joseph, but she is excited about the arrival of "les Messieurs de Lorient" [no doubt Oillics, Henrys, and Filhols] and several "demoiselles" for a big party commemorating the fall of "the tyrant." It is 10 Thermidor an IV. She shares the gossip about courtships going on and has had various conversations "très honnêtes" with the guests. She is the "regleuse du Bal," but insists she's "bored to death." The most "charming company" was that of Gertrude Kerdu, the royalist activist, and Manon Savantier, both single women from Auray, who "said a thousand sweet things about you, but I'm still often worn out by their chatter [*excédée en leur bavardage*]." Cécile's personality—somewhat above it all, a bit "aristocratic"—is much like that of her correspondent, or at least what we will come to appreciate in Marie-Joseph as she matures. Cécile, a rather new member of this expanding clan, closes with a salute to all the Jollivets back in Vannes, naming all her step-family there (one stepson, François, is in Auray, along with her own new son, René) and makes certain that Marie gives "mes hommages chez M. Le Ridant," while his grandson "François sends him kisses." She signs, "ta soeur et amie, Marquer Jollivet."[58]

The autumn and winter of 1796–97 was an exciting time for the Galles extended family. Despite the horrors of the repression, the return of some tranquillity was welcome. Cécile was pregnant and Marie-Joseph was engaged. Brother Eugène Jollivet had visited from far-off Martinique (Adelaïde was rather put out with him that he had not checked with her before his departure about carrying mail), Félix-Yves could operate with less harassment as a right-wing journalist, and Augustin was obviously happy and prosperous as his brother's partner in their notarial office in Fort-de-France. Marc Galles and René Jollivet, the scions of their families in Vannes, had emerged unscathed from the upheavals. Marc was even writing a philosophical drama called "Les promenades du soir," in which Augustin, "if I'm not mistaken," wrote Adelaïde, "will take pleasure in figuring as the third voice," despite the fact that they had never met.

Adelaïde-Marie-Cécile Jollivet was born on October 18, 1796, at the third Marquer-Jollivet residence in Noé, close to Crach. She was the fifth child of René Jollivet. To distinguish her from her aunt and namesake, she would be called Adèle. Her four brothers, we learn later, doted on her, and all would remain close throughout their lives. In the big house next to the atelier and bookshop on the place de la Liberté, the Galles children were flourishing. Fanny-Jacquette was eight; Jean-Marie, named for his father's cousin, six; Bertin (commemorating that branch) five; Aimée-Renée, a nod to one uncle, three; Eugène-Félix, namesake of two others, two; and Cécile-Marie, named for her aunt by marriage and her young aunt Marie-Joseph, a baby of eighteen months. Grandmother Jacquette Bertin Galles remained as strong as Grandmother Jeanne Le Fraper Jollivet. In the spring of 1797, all attended what could only be described as a *fête royale*, the lavish wedding of Marie-Joseph Jollivet and Jean-Marie Le Ridant at Sainte-Anne d'Auray, presided over by a non-juring (and non-Chouan)

58. ADM, 2 J 81, Cécile Marquer Jollivet to Marie-Joseph Jollivet, July 28, 1796. The latter underlines the importance of engendering goodwill within stepfamilies, Monsieur Le Ridant of course being the father not only of Marie's husband-to-be but also of Cécile's predecessor in the bed of her husband, René.

priest in a renewed age of religious freedom. A reception at the château and a honeymoon at Truélin sent the newlyweds on their way. The Galles–Jollivet–Le Ridant triad seemed destined for glory in an increasingly open age in which there was money to be made and careers to be carved.

The outlook of this family ranged from the *ottantottisme*[59] of the Chouan Le Ridant to the more nuanced monarchism and Christian values of Marc Galles. He and Jean-Marie, his Parisian cousin, carried on a correspondence (alas lost) about the philosophe-become-Christian Jean de La Harpe.[60] La Harpe made sense in their world, given their intellectual background and experiences. Neither was ignorant of the Enlightenment, and we have glimpsed their efforts to mesh certain of its principles with Christian belief. But it was the La Harpe of the multivolume *Lycée* (1796–1802) who, rather in the manner of Ockham's razor, split science from belief and promoted a regenerated Christianity rooted in simple precepts of love. It is no accident that Fénelon figures centrally in his work, pervaded as it is with an informal Quietist atmosphere. Such notions would glide into the nineteenth century and underpin a compassionate Catholicism which again sometimes ran afoul of the papacy (e.g., Lamennais), but which animated many French Christians nonetheless. The Galles and their kin found comfort in these ideals, which they tied to notions of service to their community (and their king, if possible).

But philosophical speculation had to be put aside and inner strength of a more basic sort to be found as the new century approached. In rapid succession, the curse of the Galles overtook three of those in the prime of life. Adelaïde Jollivet Galles died of consumption on March 17, 1798. Her gentle husband, Marc, although he accepted a position on the city council at the beginning of the Consulat, never recovered from her loss. Cousin Jean-Marie came home for the first time in his life (other than brief visits) to help ancient Jacquette Bertin Galles keep the business afloat, while also finding time to write an interesting analysis of the Chouan revolt from a Harpian perspective. The Jollivet family, of course, pitched in during the crisis, but horror brewed there as well. Lovely Cécile Marquer, only thirty, succumbed, as had her predecessor, in a wretched birth on January 2, 1801. The only consolation was that Marie-Cécile survived. Marc Galles drifted out of life the following November. Veuf Jollivet was now also papa to the six Galles orphans.

As the century dawned, order and glory became the new heartbeat across "revolutionary" Europe. Jean-Marie Le Ridant, professional soldier, made his peace with France and fought for *la grande nation*'s expansion. Moderate liberals and moderate royalists embraced the Consulat and peopled local office under Mayor Laumailler and Deputy Mayor Lorvol, a Galles cousin. Although our families faced tragedy of unprecedented proportions, their trajectories remained steadfastly upward and their numbers and kin connections swelled as their leading members fully integrated into the social and political life of the new era and eagerly grasped the professional and eco-

59. The term, made famous by Peter Viereck, refers to a brand of conservatism seeking to turn the clock back to 1788. See his *Conservatism from John Adams to Winston Churchill* (Princeton, 1956), 11–12.

60. Fortunately Jean-Marie's later correspondence with his friend Rigault compensates, emphasizing the importance of La Harpe in their thinking.

nomic opportunities it offered. They all had, after all, accommodated the Revolution and certainly profited from it. In a certain sense, they were "contre-révolutionnaires ordinaires," to invert the title of a famous study of the *bourgeoisie de province* during the revolutionary era.[61] Their lives and their outlook make sense and in fact may be almost as typical as that of Benoît Lacombe of Gaillac or indeed most of the Bleus of Vannes itself. Still, certain among them, especially Marie-Joseph Jollivet, remained in touch with the exiled world of French royalism, which would, fifteen years hence, offer even more.

61. Joël Cornette, *Un révolutionnaire ordinaire: Benoît Lacombe, 1759–1819* (Seyssel, 1986).

CHAPTER FOUR

The Sibling Archipelago

Jean-Marie Galles had just reached his eleventh birthday when his father died. One can imagine the scene at the funeral: six children, five-year-old Cécile no doubt clinging to her aunt Marie-Joseph, the others bravely lined up at graveside; uncles Jean-Marie Galles, René Jollivet, and Jean-Marie Le Ridant standing stiffly, faces frozen in disbelief; Veuves Galles and Jollivet knowing that grandmothers should not be burying their children (Jacquette had now done it twice); the other uncles and cousins gathered about (little Adèle may have been on Aunt Marie's other hand); and all of Vannes, Auray, and Lorient society stretched out in every direction. The "humanist-printer" of Vannes was laid to rest on November 27, 1801. Marc's cousin Jean-Marie I had come to Vannes to help with all the complex arrangements related to the death. A letter from his close friend Rigault d'Estampes, an intellectual *curé*, captures some of the somber atmosphere: "You have . . . experienced a deeply felt loss. A close relative with whom you've spent your life; and what is even more dreadful, six children without a mother or father; this must be what affects your sensibility the most. Rest assured, my good friend, that I share [your] sorrow, . . . [but] you know the sources where the true Christian finds his consolation."[1] As a result of a family council, René Jollivet, who was godfather to Eugène and Cécile, agreed to act as guardian to the entire brood. The proximity of their residences in Vannes and the continuing good health of Jacquette Bertin allowed the children to live in their own home with their grandmother. Early on, René Jollivet did the necessary legal work to establish a new *marque* for the business, Les Enfants Galles, and they went on publishing, with Jacquette again at the helm, adding a second journeyman. Young Jean-Marie apprenticed in his own shop and was prepared, when the grand old woman passed away seven years later at seventy-eight, to take de facto control of the business, though he was not yet twenty.

The disappearance of Jacquette Françoise Bertin Galles would mark the end of an era. She had powered the enterprise through a succession of difficult moments, with more than a little uncertainty about the capacities of males in the family to guide it. Her daughter Perrine had proved an able partner, but her early death in 1790 once again increased Jacquette's burdens. Clearly Marc was not always lost in thought, but it is most unlikely that the business would have survived the Revolution as well as it did without

1. Rigault to J.-M. Galles, February 20, 1802, ADM, 2 J 78.

his mother. She, of course, also bore considerable responsibility for the social ascent of the Galles, bringing connections in both the law and the upper clergy and then acquiring the landed property so necessary to bourgeois status in the best eighteenth-century sense. And she promoted a fine match for her son, opening the way to a universe of social, intellectual, and political leadership that would proliferate across France during the following century. In her last years, she was still there in the final crisis: who else knew anything about printing and bookselling? Certainly not René Jollivet.

Talented Royalists Accommodate Bonaparte

We are not well informed about the early years of the Consulat-Empire chez Galles-Jollivet. There are many later references about the intertwining of the two families. René Galles would write in his "Journal" that there developed "between the two families a tight intimacy and a profound affection that never flagged." Adèle Jollivet and Cécile Galles were "best friends." and Adèle and Eugène were "like brother and sister," bound, in their son's words, by a "touching energy."[2] In 1802, René Jollivet married for the third time, now to Marie-Jeanne-Thérèse-Désirée Thomas-Kercado, a young woman of twenty-two with impeccable credentials. From a well-established family of La Roche–Bernard, she was connected to Vannes by way of an uncle, formerly the *receveur des fouages* under the old regime and one of the city's wealthier citizens, now simply listed as a *propriétaire*.[3] Désirée, as she was called, became a mother for the entire tribe and went on to bear six more children of her own. The first was Stanislas in 1803, followed by Eugène two years later. Then came "the girls," Jenny, Fanny, Louise, and Marie, the last arriving three days after Napoléon bade farewell to his troops at Fontainebleau. The third Madame Jollivet would be regularly referred to as "Maman" in the correspondence of her stepchildren and the Galles children. Her own offspring were all enveloped in love by their half siblings and their cousins/foster siblings. In effect, no fewer than seventeen brothers and sisters, from Fanny Galles and François Jollivet to Marie Jollivet, made up this long chain of affection.

Maman Jollivet also reinforced the security of them all with a step-kin umbrella of some substance. Her family, the Thomas-Kercados of La Roche–Bernard, an agricultural *bourg* twenty-five kilometers east of Vannes, also had kin in Sené on the outskirts of the city. All were gentry with landholdings throughout the southern Morbihan. Their prominence dated deep into the old regime, deriving from the Thomases, wealthy bourgeois who married widely in the minor nobility, thus producing three branches: Thomas de Kercado, Thomas-Ducordic, and Thomas de Closmadeuc. The last two would play an enormous role in the political and civic history of the region, as we shall see. There is virtually no evidence in our extensive family correspondence of rancor between stepparents and stepchildren (though the earlier Jollivet children thought Maman spent too freely) or between half brothers and sisters. Indeed,

2. René Galles, "Journal," 1:4, 6.

3. Liste des électeurs, an IX, ADM, 3 M 1. A *quartier* in Vannes-Sud today is named for the family property.

step-in-laws were not only deeply cared for but also important social and political allies, elements in an expanding galaxy of influence.

The high incidence of women's death in childbirth (and it will continue) in this family had the practical consequence of improving its fortunes, going all the way back to Olive Buor. Some widowers, like Nicolas Galles and Marc Galles, did not remarry, but more generally the deceased wife was replaced while her birth family connections remained. In the affective discourse of the age, such material realities, of course, would not be highlighted. Instead the nobility of the departed's soul (in romantic imagery she would, like Iseult, be laid out on a pedestal, her clinging robes ruffled by the breeze as her grieving lover kneels beside her) shone for posterity.[4] And the sacrifice of the wife would be redeemed in the veneration of the mother—not only she who had died but also she who came to replace her. In literature, the potential tensions of the stepmother-stepchild relationship are often exploited for dramatic effect, but in this new universe of family love, they are usually resolved. What we do not see much of, either in literature or in all the histories of the Galles, are step*fathers*. Widows do not remarry. Their reward, as we shall see, is the abiding devotion of their children, especially the males.[5]

The rise of Napoléon Bonaparte does not appear to have troubled (or promoted) the interests of our families. They accepted the Consulat and the Empire as they had the Directory, as regimes for which they had little political enthusiasm but which let them live their lives. The Concordat of 1801 with the papacy, however, was welcome. Jean-Marie I Galles's correspondence with Rigault d'Estampes makes clear that although their circle was happy about the reestablishment of ties with Rome, they were concerned about the slow progress of Catholic revitalization in France. Still, "our religious divisions are soon to be ended, which we have to view as an invaluable good," wrote Rigault to Jean-Marie. The two friends were especially excited about the *Journal de Fontenai*, where they thought a reasoned debate about religion was best articulated. Fontenai (Louis-Abel Bonnefou) had been a prolific writer in the Enlightenment spirit but a defender of the monarchy (*L'âme des Bourbons*), and went underground during the Revolution. He resurfaced after 18 Brumaire and got out his *Journal*, which became a lightning rod for intellectual opinion around the Concordat. He was also at work on a large book promoting the reinstatement of the Jesuits in French education, a sentiment certainly with support in Vannes. They were dismayed, however, that Fontenai disparaged La Harpe, for both were eagerly awaiting the next installment of the *Lycée*, La Harpe's defense of a depoliticized Catholicism, where the essential pre-

4. See especially Madelyn Gutwirth, "The Engulfed Beloved: Representations of Dead and Dying Women in the Art and Literature of the Romantic Era," in *Rebel Daughters: Women and the French Revolution*, ed. Sara Melzer and Leslie Rabine (Oxford, 1992), 198–227.

5. Although there is a huge literature in the social sciences on contemporary stepfamilies, little historical work on France has been done on the subject. But see Sylvie Perrier, "The Blended Family in Old-Regime France: A Dynamic Family Form," *History of the Family* 3, no. 4 (1998): 459–71, which stresses good internal relations. Lawrence Stone famously characterized marriage then and now as "serial polygamy," with divorce finally outpacing death in recent times. On widows, there is considerable evidence that it was also to their material advantage to remain so. See especially Janine Lanza, *From Wives to Widows in Early Modern Paris: Gender, Economy, and Law* (Aldershot, 2007).

cepts of Christian love and a revitalization of Fénelon are to guide the believer.[6] The new atmosphere created by the Concordat raised the stock of non-émigré royalists like the Galles network and was a major force in reconciliation in Brittany generally. We do know that Jean-Marie took an active interest in the affairs of Vannes and its environs, keeping a journal about events of the day, including a new round of Chouan activity generated in part by greater tolerance for royalist opinion.[7]

The key figure in the family at this time, of course, was René Jollivet. His considerable family responsibilities did not prevent him from active involvement in local politics. He was a prominent lawyer and his father, Yves, continued as a *notaire*. Both were on the list of "Notables du département" for the Year IX (1801–2) along with Thomas-Kercado and Joachim Oillic, meaning that important moderate royalists were welcome alongside tepid revolutionaries. (Neither Le Monnier, raiser of peasant rebellion, nor Le Ridant, Chouan, was tapped for the honor, despite their wealth and power.) In July 1802, René Jollivet stood unsuccessfully for the municipal council of Vannes, though at least one of his political allies, Oillic, was among the twenty-two selected. Most members had been active in revolutionary politics before and after the Terror, but the presence of a few royalists reflected consular efforts at reconciliation; Marc Galles and Duplessis-Génédan had been members since 1800. Although in 1806 Jollivet figured on the list of the "550 highest taxpayers" of the department, he did not make the list of the "sixty citizens of the department most distinguished whether by their fortune or their public virtues." Since he was not among the wealthiest sixty on the first list (falling at number eighty-five), we must assume that imperial officials did not consider him sufficiently virtuous to be included on that account. Still, Jollivet was a charter member of the Conseil général of the department, a post he would retain (with a brief gap during the One Hundred Days) until his death. Moreover, by 1806 he had joined the city council and was thus a respected, if slightly distrusted, public servant during the Empire.[8] Certainly his patriotism could not be doubted. While he may have assisted Jean-Marie Galles II in his application for a much-needed substitution for military service in 1808 after the death of his grandmother,[9] Jollivet encouraged two sons and his other two male wards to pursue military careers. His brother-in-law Jean-Marie Le Ridant, a professional soldier, ultimately fought for the *tricouleur* and could counsel the boys about their options. Jean-Baptiste Jollivet, the oldest, became a cavalry officer, while Bertin Galles, who turned eighteen in 1809, chose the navy and began to sail in 1811. Eugène, three years his junior, embarked on

6. Rigault to Jean-Marie Galles, July 31, 1801, and February 20, 1803, ADM, 2 J 78.

7. "Le journal d'un bourgeois de Vannes," brochure edited by Albert Macé, ADM, 2 J 76. On the "reconstruction" of the Catholic presence and the proliferation of orderly service and administration in the Morbihan from 1800 to 1830, see Claude Langlois, *Un diocese Breton au début du XIXe siècle* (Rennes, 1974), especially 109–27 and 595–606. This book provides a detailed history of religion in the tumultuous years of Revolution and Restoration that rocked the lives of our families. Always moderate in their views, they endured the vicissitudes without great stress.

8. Jollivet's career was pieced together from local administrative documents: ADM, 2 M 66 (Conseil général, an VIII [1832]), 3 M 1 (Liste des Notables, an IX), 3 M 8 (Liste des 550 plus imposés du département, an XI), 2 M 87 (Conseil municipal).

9. ADM, 2 J 80.

a career as an infantry officer in 1813. René Jollivet II's career as a naval officer began with the Restoration.

René Jollivet's wealth certainly increased during the Empire. From his medium-high position on the tax rolls of 1806, he had risen to among the very top taxpayers of the city and department by the Restoration. With an imposition of 1,125 francs in 1819, he ranked twelfth in Vannes, grouped with other prominent bourgeois lawyers and *rentiers*. Only three nobles and a *négociant* topped 1,500. By the definition of the time, then, Jollivet had entered the ranks of the *grands notables* of France. Most of his wealth derived from his holdings in land; he paid 1,075 francs of his total in *impôt foncière*. At his death in 1830, René Jollivet left thirty-three pieces of real estate, mostly rural properties such as the *métairie* Halquin at Arradon and the *fonds du domaine congéable* at Lorimont, spread out from Auray to Saint-Avé to Sarzeau. He probably profited to some extent from purchases of *biens nationaux* during the Directory and Empire, but his four purchases totaling some 50,000 francs paled in comparison with those of many non-nobles. His father had also made two minor purchases in 1797 at Grandchamp and, vitally important for the family's future happiness, at Arradon. Jollivet's participation in the great bourgeois land transfer that marked one of the most enduring consequences of the French Revolution was thus less than enthusiastic. So too with the Galles and Le Ridants. On 7 Florial an VI (April 27, 1798), Marc Galles and Veuve Guignet (née Serres) jointly purchased five tenures formerly owned by the marquis Robien du Plessix Kaër worth 150,000 francs, but since no Galles appears in later inventories of his heirs, it is likely that he and widow Guignet "held" them for repurchase by this family of noble patrons to both the Galles and Jollivets. The fact that Adèle Jollivet was born in the chateau Plessix-Kaër near Auray attests to their closeness. Likewise, Yves Le Ridant bought tenures (which we are also unable to identify later) from the lands of Dubot du Grégo, who had strong links with all three families, at Saint-Nolff and Saint-Avé to the north and east of Vannes.[10]

It seems probable, then, that these royalists were at least more circumspect than many of their contemporaries and often acted as agents in their activities relating to nationalized noble and church lands. The Le Monniers are also virtually absent from the lists, and we know that Sébastien Le Monnier protected the interests of his patrons, the Rosmadecs (who did not emigrate). But other friends and relatives did not hesitate before the opportunities presented by the largest land sale in French history. Competing with divorcées of convenience such as Louise de Bonté (née Dubot du Grégo), who protected huge amounts of émigré property in this region, and agents working directly for nobles, like the ubiquitous Victor Bodin, were many moderate republicans and a number of royalists with fewer scruples than our families. The lists read like the roll call of Vannes's political leaders of the Restoration and July Mon-

10. ADM, Q 28 178, 180, 233, 228, 124, 165, and 191; Q 26 199; Q 2897 (Déclaration des mutations après décès, René Jollivet). As for émigré land, in addition to the château and attachments of the Marquers in Auray, he made a major purchase (46,480 francs) of a Mirabeau property at Plumergat, and another sequestered from a branch of the great Rohan family (only 1,025 francs) at Locmalo. He also bought two *biens ecclésiastiques*, both relatively modest, one at Sarzeau, the other *la tenue Pédron* near Vannes, a former possession of the cathedral chapter.

archy (and indeed of the Empire): Danet, Kerviche, Boullé, Aubry, Latour, and Le Bouhéllec were all people of the Galles-Jollivet inner circle, while Mahé, Mahé de Villeneuve, Lamarzelle, Aché, Caradec, Faverot, Coroller, Tourmante, Gougéon, and Pavec interacted with them regularly in civic affairs. None of this is surprising, though it *is* interesting that our royalists seem to have abided by certain principles. One related family (which would produce a cousin to marry René Jollivet's grandson René Galles) and solid royalists, the Montagners of Guidel, could not resist, however, buying six émigré properties in their *pays* for 120,000 francs.[11]

The Jollivets and Le Ridants nevertheless became major landed bourgeois during this era, while the *enfants* Galles drew on revenues from land bought by their grandmother in the 1780s, but remained decidedly inferior in landed income to their closest relatives. The Le Ridants came by their assets through the regular land market, itself enormously activated by the sales of public lands. Their mutual experience in the notarial business served them well. Alexis Le Ridant followed in his father's footsteps but also added the lucrative job of direct-tax collector for Sarzeau. And in 1811, already well established at age thirty-one, he married money: Virginie Danet was the daughter of Jean-Joseph Danet of that great merchant family and himself recently retired from the position of *receveur-général du Morbihan*, thus overseeing all tax matters for the department. Witnesses included Alexis's brother Jean-Marie and René Jollivet on the groom's behalf and Virginie's uncle Julien Danet, now a *rentier*, and her thirty-seven-year-old brother-in-law Germain Morand, *négociant* and scion of a wealthy grain-merchant dynasty of Vannes. The political implications of this marriage will be considered later. But armed with knowledge and capital, Alexis went on to build an empire of landed properties for himself and his brother Jean-Marie that would make them both *grands notables* under the Restoration with *cens* totals in 1819 of 792 and 1,084, respectively. His bride's family would not be so fortunate. Although Jean-Joseph Danet was able to insulate himself from some of the damage, his son Joseph-François, who had succeeded him as *receveur-général* (1810–1815), tried to parlay an advance on his inheritance and his own savings into an investment empire during the frigid economic climate following Waterloo and failed utterly, embezzling funds along the way, being convicted in absentia, and finally declaring a debt of a million and a quarter at the end of 1816, the moment of his death. The legacy of J.-J. Danet lived on through his enterprising sons-in-law Le Ridant, Morand, and Pierre-Jean Le Bouhéllec, whose daughter would marry a Jollivet. The old man himself, though reeling from his son's miscues, still managed to leave 140,000 francs to his four daughters and son Julien (then a bureaucrat in the Jura) when his debts were settled three years after his death in 1820.[12]

Jean-Marie Le Ridant and his wife, Marie-Joseph Jollivet, had already pooled resources to buy the estate of Pont-Sal (on the Sal estuary east of Auray in the com-

11. État alphabétique de ventes de biens d'émigrés et ecclésiastiques, ADM, Q 28 (detailed examination by name).

12. Bertrand Frélaut, *Les Bleus de Vannes, 1791–1796: Une élite urbaine pendant la Révolution* (Vannes, 1991), 199–203; ADM, Mariages, Vannes, February 6, 1811.

Figure 6. The Château de Pont-Sal. Photograph by Christopher Johnson.

mune of Plougoumelen) in 1804. This beautiful property, which one entered through a chestnut-lined carriageway, included "the main house, stable, *cour d'honneur*, chapel, dovecote, *basse cour*, gardens, orchards, first-growth forest [*bois de futaye*], copsewood [*bois taillis*], and avenues," along with sixteen properties put out for lease: the tavern by the bridge crossing the river, three *métairies*, ten *fonds du domaine congéables*, and two direct rental farms, all located across three communes within the canton of Auray. It was a substantial holding based in ancient noble lands, but reconstructed by a robe noble only in the 1780s. The owner was not an émigré but had fallen on hard times during the Revolution. The chateau and its buildings still stand, largely unchanged in two hundred years (see fig. 6). The Le Ridants bought it for a song: 63,000 francs. It generated an annual income, mostly in kind, of almost a third of that sum. Its value appreciated in the thirty years they owned it, to a 100,000 franc sale price in 1833.[13]

At about the same time, René Jollivet undertook a project of somewhat less grand dimensions, but with equally happy consequences for his descendants. Although the house of his second wife's family (Marquer) in Auray was lovely and a fine meeting place for friends and relations from Lorient and roundabout, the family wanted a country place closer to home. Thus, he rebuilt Truhélin, a *vieux gentilhommerie* purchased by his father on the shore of the Gulf of Morbihan in Arradon, into a more commodious "cottage," and pioneered this area as the premier country home

13. ADM, 6 E 9777 (Glais, notaire, May 21, 1833, and Le Maynen, notaire, 20 Messidor an XI).

setting for wealthy citizens of Vannes. Pont-Sal and Truhélin, like the estates of dozens of their friends, were the true markers of a bourgeoisie that had arrived. This was where one "lived nobly." The fondest memories of all the children were of those days and weeks in the country at either place: the games and intimate discussions, the carriage rides and the equestrian lessons, the musical performances (by the girls, of course) and the readings of poems and essays, the visits of friends and relatives and time to write long letters to the absent ones, but above all just the joy of being *en famille* where circumstances of wealth and the caring sensibility of René Jollivet and his sister and her husband made possible a life that most orphans could only dream about.

The following generations glowed with the same pleasure, a sense of which can be gleaned from the family memoirists, Generals René Galles and Jules Jollivet. René, who actually lived for a while at Pont-Sal with his aunt Marie and his mother, sister, and brother after his father's death, loved every inch of it: "Pont-Sal! The long avenue in the heart of the great wood, the bowers framing the green courtyard, the big, echoing vestibule, and in the dining room the paintings where the characters—we were sure of it—changed frames during the night. Pont-Sal, which during my entire life has served as my image of paradise." René was devastated when the Le Ridants decided to sell it when he was fourteen: "I cried for my poor château as for a lost friend, and since that time, even at my age today [sixty-eight], I never pass before the avenue without stopping for a while to stare at that big gate, forever closed to me, and the window of the green room where I fought so many phantoms."[14]

Truhélin was every bit as delightful and ultimately could accommodate larger numbers of relatives. Jules Jollivet, who was actually born there, reflected fifty years later about his boyhood summers at this place "remarkable in the gentleness of the climate, the vegetation everywhere, and above all the magnificent view of the Morbihan Bay, covered with [its] islands. I saw nothing but beauty here, where I passed my childhood and youth." It was "the rendez-vous of all our family from August 15 until October 1, all heaped together, fifteen people in four or five bedrooms, one for the boys, another for the girls, and the others for the parents with their youngest children." Their days were "filled with laughter, charades, rhyming contests, crazy races, swimming, fishing. We'd reappear at the house only for meals—simple but beautifully prepared by our old *cuisinière*, Mathurine. What tolerance of us she had; we would arrive any time of the day with crabs, periwinkles, shrimp, fish. . . . [Q]uickly onto the fire they went to be eaten at the next meal." The joy of those days was sealed by the presence of *les proches* (aunts and uncles, cousins, all named: Aunt Adèle, the Galles, Jollivet, and Ridant families, and later on the Lallemend, Le Montagner, and Le Bouhéllec clans) as well as the Letristes, their *fermiers de la métairie*, "who had lived on Truhélin for 200 years, a family as honorable and devoted as it was numerous. The father, Jean-François and a former Chouan captain; his wife, Marie-Jeanne; his sister the old Jeannik," and their six children, all duly identified, including "Gabelaie, who was just about my age; cordial memories of the fine Letriste family who also had for

14. René Galles, "Journal," 1:24, 36.

us a devoted friendship."[15] By mid-century, Truhélin would be surrounded by a compound of a half-dozen dream homes of the dynasty.

One cannot overemphasize the importance of the rural idyll as a factor in French (or any European) bourgeois consciousness. Although it has not been extensively analyzed by historians (with the notable exception of Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall), anyone familiar with the social history of the middle class is aware that the "country house" was a necessary signifier of distinction. As with so many other markers of bourgeois status in the nineteenth century (and beyond), from notions of honor and masculinity to furniture and other elements of material culture, the country house harked back to aristocratic ideals that had become integrated into bourgeois life, but were redefined according to bourgeois standards. In this case, the "château" loses its decidedly public and symbolic function of denoting aristocratic political authority, becoming instead a private and love-bound haven for family, kin, and personal friends.

This does not mean, of course, that the country house did not still measure the social distance between those who had one and those who did not; but now the lack thereof was no longer a God-given fact but the way of the world in which some fared better than others, and always holding out the possibility that the "others" might one day join them. The relationship with the Letriste family, whose roots in the soil of Arradon, though not as owners of the land, were as deep as the Jollivets' at Lanouée or the Le Ridants' in Sarzeau, perfectly illustrates bourgeois attitudes toward social inferiors. Jules Jollivet says, "Je dois ici un souvenir" and indicates a superior's sense of (noble) obligation to them (though at a higher level than to Mathurine the cook). Nevertheless, he respects their place in a long line of *métayers* and obviously reveres Jean-François Letriste as a royalist warrior. Above all, however, fifty years later Jules can still name every member of their household and seems to have had a special playmate in Gabelaie, with whom he may have been a bit smitten. Marrying her would surely have been out of the question, but inviting her kind to weddings would not have. Jean Ollié, who farmed for the Galles under *domaine congéable* on their property at Breugolo (Theix), was not only invited but also a signatory at several of the Galles children's weddings in the teens and twenties.[16]

That Letristes or Olliés did not actually own *fonds de domaine congéable, métairies* or châteaux did not mean that they *might* not, for our families 150 years before had been, in fact, them. For whatever reason, a lack of talent or interest, or the absence of

15. Jules Jollivet, "Memoire," 1899, 2–3, ADM, 2 J 86; subsequent quotations are from this source. Christine Adams's Lamothe family had a similar emotional attachment to their country house and vineyard, Goulards. Alexis, unable to be there for the *vendange*, exclaimed: "Ah! There you all are at Goulards, how is [*sic*] the garden, the paths, those trees, those flowers?" He fondly recalled "our amusement, our pleasures" there. Christine Adams, *A Taste for Comfort and Status: A Bourgeois Family in Eighteenth-Century France* (University Park, PA, 2000), 59.

16. On Ollié's *fermage*, see the "Succession collatérale de Cécile Galles," May 6, 1828, ADM, En 2895. On wedding attendance, see my discussion later in this chapter. Excellent examples of the integration of aristocratic values and taste into the bourgeois ethos are William Reddy, *The Invisible Code: Honor and Sentiment in Postrevolutionary France, 1815–1848* (Berkeley, 1997); and Leora Auslander, *Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France* (Berkeley, 1996).

that moral impulse toward enlightenment and family honor that might carry them into the public sphere, they still remained at an inferior social position. But this did not mean that their descendants must do so, that they were not *worthy*. The bourgeois could see in them themselves *manqué*, and the farmer or the petit bourgeois could see in the bourgeois a person perhaps to be envied, but also an aspiration, a potential. Their relationship is one of friendship, but in this same text, we see the Letristes placed in a separate space on the page, *after* the "*parents et amis* too numerous to mention."

We are witness here to that subtle process by which bourgeois moral worthiness becomes a key element in the new discourse of class power wherein the elite reject the very idea that they are an elite. It is what Roland Barthes termed *dénomination*, un-naming: we are all middle class. It is a function of modern class society to deny that it exists.[17] This small example illustrates the point well. The Galles and Jollivets certainly understood their success in moral terms, above all the view that the bonds of family love would always empower them in the face of adversity and that their network of kin and friends, cemented in authentic affection, provided a bedrock of security—one to be repeatedly reinforced by close marriage. And in fact this emergent kinship regime ensured that the Letristes and the Olliés, whatever their aspirations, would have considerably *less* opportunity to breach that submerged divide of class than the Jollivets and Galles had had a century before, when exogamous and (somewhat) unequal marriage was more characteristic.

A New Generation and a Renewed Polity

This consolidation of class power can be read in the enumeration by Jules Jollivet of the relatives gathering at Truhélin. Who were they and how did they intertwine? Let us begin to find out.

Eugène Galles and Adèle Jollivet, who would become husband and wife in 1818, were the core around which would form the concentric circles of siblings, uncles and aunts, cousins and second cousins, tied engagingly together by one of the richest extant collections of personal correspondence in nineteenth-century France. Through this sibling archipelago we can view the construction of a different kind of kinship system in which marriage is less a means of forming exogamous connections for mutual advantage than a mode of horizontal, often consanguineous consolidation of a way of life already achieved, an essential component of a culture of class. In this system, love and lifelong devotion between siblings is increasingly taken for granted, cousins are prized and often wed, and one's parents' siblings, those "aunts and uncles," in the words of Adèle written in 1829 to her son René, "of all the people who love you, are in the first rank."[18] How and why this change occurred will emerge with the story of Adèle, Eugène, and the rest of their families when set side by side with the literature of the age and a broad range of biographical information available to us, not just in France but in western Europe generally. It lies at the heart of "becoming bourgeois"—and of this book.

17. Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (New York, 1972), 137–40.
18. Letter of September 25, 1822, ADM, 2 J 80.

The story begins with two brothers destined for the military. Bertin was the pathfinder, getting into Saint-Cyr and receiving his commission in 1810. He was pleased with his new assignment in the navy at Brest. In the earliest extant letter of this generation, he writes to Eugène on January 27, 1811, at a point when the latter, not yet seventeen, had already decided to follow him into the military. Eugène was still in the Collège de Vannes, re-Christianized after the Concordat and the mainstay of their circle's basic education. As if from the days of Jean-Marie of Paris and their father, Bertin's first epistolary remark is to agree with his brother's (unspecified) reference to Horace. The Frères chrétiens emphasized the classics as much as their Jesuit predecessors. Bertin had been at sea but was now in port, for his squadron's business was with six "Englishmen," four ships of the line and two frigates, harassing the Brest harbor, so he was again receiving mail. Eugène had wondered which branch of the service was best for him, and Bertin touted the navy, likely to produce an assignment close to home, where it would be "easier to find a replacement in this district than in the land army" should Eugène wish to resign his commission after his tour of duty. Besides, the food is good, now that they have a steady supply of "hare." He sends hugs to Jean-Marie and François (the oldest Jollivet cousin) and his "four sisters."[19]

Eight months later Eugène had made up his mind. And Bertin was not at all pleased with his decision to seek an army commission, warning him not to be "dazzled by the uniform and the honors given a soldier." Bertin had had army experience and hated it. "The existence of an officer is [habitually] in a garrison where he is abandoned to the caprices of his commanders and bypassed by his inferiors, on whom he can't count on the battlefield. . . . [W]hen the moment of truth comes, one or two [lower-ranking officers] out of fifty are left standing. You have in Baptiste an example of what I'm talking about. *Le voilà*. Think twice." René Jollivet's second son, Jean-Baptiste, had been severely wounded, a lieutenant who, like those of this rank throughout history, was a more likely casualty than any other.

Eugène did not heed him. He went to Versailles for a year of scientific and military training before beginning at Saint-Cyr in January 1813. Bertin was pleased that he was admitted, for he would learn a great deal in a pleasant environment—and delay being sent to the front. Eugène received another letter from Bertin shortly after his arrival. Besides having suffered a nasty fall on his ship, the *Eylau*, Bertin was aghast at an (unfounded) rumor that he might be sent to Russia. Their cousin-brother René was off to the École de la Marine in Toulon, which Bertin finds useless: not a "good entry" to a naval commission and a "boring three years" of unnecessary schooling. Bertin grouses more and more now about everything and, perhaps the reason, goes on to lament the shortage of letters from his family. He envies Eugène's "news from home." Bertin also appears to have "fallen into disarray with Fanny," who "no longer seems to exist." He may have been less than enthusiastic about her choice of a husband, Henri Pavin, whom she had married in April 1811. (According to Bertin's letter the following March, things were even worse, and he asks Eugène to try "to break

19. The letters from Bertin to Eugène quoted in this section of the chapter are dated January 27 and August 21, 1811, October 10, 1812, January 11, 1813, and March 8, 1813, ADM, 2 J 79 (4).

up the clouds" shadowing their relationship.) Fortunately he had been well received in Brest, especially chez Madame Coetménépren, where he felt "comme chez moi." Bertin's anxiety about his siblings and fear that he was losing their love contributes perfect commentary to our theme. This was not the way brothers and sisters were to behave with their own.

Jacquette Françoise Adelaïde (Fanny) Galles, Marc and Adelaïde's firstborn (March 1788), does not leave much of a trail in the family correspondence, perhaps because she was not an enthusiastic letter writer. Eugène, who seems to have kept most letters written to him, has only two from her, so perhaps Bertin was needlessly concerned. In any case, she was the first to move out of the nest. We are uninformed about her courtship, but she made a quite respectable match. As noted in a later letter, Henri Jean-Baptiste Pavin was a distant relative of the Jollivets of Lanouée, but it would be stretching things to call this a consanguineous marriage. At thirty-two, he was ten years Fanny's senior, just about the statistical mean in bourgeois marriage. Born in Redon, where Adelaïde, Marc, and the family visited in the 1790s (Marc drew at nearby Rieux), he was the son of a *maître en pharmacie* (Honoré Thomas Pavin)—perhaps a friend of the Oillics and thus the Galles—and Julienne Moyon. Trained in the law, he had sufficient backing to gain the post of *receveur des contributions directes*, thus the second (but by no means the last) member of the extending family to collect taxes. His current office was at Guémenée-Penfao (Loire-Inférieure), a cantonal *chef-lieu* twenty kilometers to the east, but would soon return to Redon and later be assigned to Vannes, where in 1819 he qualified as an elector, paying a *cens* of 342 francs. The official witnesses were René-Marie Jollivet (this role would almost become a burden as time and marriages rolled by); Pavin's forty-two-year-old brother, Pierre Louis Honoré, a *percepteur des contributions directes* in Redon; and Pierre-Marie Claret, sixty, at the time a *juge de la Cour spéciale de Vannes*, an influential figure in local politics during both the Empire and the Restoration, and a close ally of Jollivet, despite his mildly republican views. His family originated in Rieux, and several of his descendants made names for themselves in intellectual pursuits, perhaps indicating an intellectual tie with Marc Galles. Late in 1812 the Pavins' first child arrived, a girl named Anaïs.[20]

As for Eugène, mid-March 1813 at Saint-Cyr found him desperately homesick. His closest sister in age and spirit, Aimée, writes from Pont-Sal, where she is spending two weeks with Fanny and her new baby, to console him and, quite directly, to remind him of (and define precisely) his duty: "My greatest happiness as well would be to live forever with my brothers and sisters, but since Providence has acted otherwise and has separated us all, I have submitted to it with courage and resignation. . . . And Providence has called upon you to defend your country and therefore to protect the happiness and contentment of all your relatives." And, as if she had to remind him, "don't forget that you are a Christian; is it not next to God that one finds true happiness? You are far from your family, but you have close to you a loving Father who will not aban-

20. On the Pavin connection: Mariages, April 23, 1811, ADM, 1 M 260 (Vannes); Collège électoral, Arrond. de Vannes, 1819, ADM, 3 M 42; Frélaut, *Les Bleus*, 227.

don you. If you remain faithful, He alone can lighten your burdens and your sorrows." God is thus the only power greater than family in delivering security and happiness. She signs off with love from all who hold him dear, his siblings (first), "Maman Jollivet" and "Papa" (René Jollivet), and "Tante [Marie-Joseph] et Oncle Ridant."[21]

Eugène was called up in July 1813, and the young second lieutenant joined the Corps d'Occupation de la Bavière before moving to the general headquarters at Würtzburg under the duc de Castiglione. Then came the call for Leipzig, where Eugène Galles fought with the Sixty-Fifth Infantry and "escaped death." At Laon, one of the last battles of the retreat (March 9–10, 1814), he was captured and interned in Berlin, where he remained well after the return of the Bourbons in April, not repatriating until July 1814 and put on half pay awaiting reassignment. The only letter surviving from this period came from his youngest sister, Cécile, written on December 17, 1813, to Coblenz, two months after the Leipzig disaster. The arrival of Eugène's first letter after the campaign, she says, had been a relief to all. But he was suffering from "profound fatigue." Cécile reports that "our Aunt" was "very worried about you when you were in Germany," and is overjoyed that he has returned safely. She was in Le Havre, waiting for the release of her husband. Le Ridant had fought for Bonaparte but refused to participate in the invasion of Russia. Like many other royalists in the military, he began to scent the decline of the "Corsican usurper's" fortunes and prepared for the return of the Bourbons. His reward was imprisonment at the fortress of Ham for most of 1812 and 1813.[22]

Eugène was granted a long leave in Paris, where several letters caught up with him, though only one has survived. It was from sister Aimée, with an enclosure from Françoise Autissier, the orphaned daughter of a Jollivet cousin also living with the extended family, Aimée's best friend and, it seems, a potential match for Eugène. Aimée's letter contained mostly family news—love from Maman, their governess Mademoiselle Miquelard, Cécile, Adèle (who is listed as a virtual sister); word that Jean-Marie had been promoted to corporal in the Garde urbaine and Monsieur Marquer, their relative and "neighbor," was a grenadier ("so we'll be well protected"); concern for Bertin, who is "at sea"; and an injunction to make sure that he write Aunt Marie: "That will cause her such joy; this good aunt loves you so and if you only knew how concerned she has been about you." Eugène had already been selected as his aunt's favorite. In her note, Françoise says that she (as well as Fanny) sent letters to Coblenz that he never received. Everybody is asking after him—all the family, the Pavins, Latours (Jollivet cousins), Prudhommes (their cousin Angelique, daughter of Perrine Galles Le Jeune, and her husband), and Georgelins (Jollivet cousins), as well as "many others." And finally: "How could you believe that I forgot you, *pauvre Eugène*, I, the one who thinks about you incessantly and who desires for you all the happiness possible and forever. Be safe and sound from all the dangers that you will still face: that's the sincerest wish of your *cousine* who loves you."[23]

21. March 14, 1813, ADM, 2 J 79 (5).
22. Cécile to Eugène, December 17, 1813, ADM, 2 J 79 (3); René Galles, "Journal," 1:5.
23. Undated letter (early 1814), ADM, 2 J 79 (5).

As with the rest of Europe, the roller-coaster ride of 1814–15 hurled the Galles clan through a series of tension-filled events. After Napoléon's abdication on April 4, 1814, Eugène, like thousands of other officers, was put on half pay while awaiting reassignment. Bertin's unit, based in Brest, remained active. As for their uncle, Jean-Marie Le Ridant began to seek reinstatement in an army he could believe in. The emperor's return, however, caused a moment of discord within the family. On March 24, 1815, we learn that Bertin's unit had rallied to the emperor after his triumphal reentry into Paris on March 20 as Louis XVIII fled to Ghent. As Bertin wrote to Fanny (with whom he had apparently reconciled):

> We have, today, raised our other flags on our tents and celebrated the return of the Emperor. Let us hope that his [new] reign will be more clement and more peaceful. He will finally think of the happiness of the people who come once more under his dominion. Without being his partisan—and how could I be after the ills that he has visited upon my relatives—it pleased me that he put fear in the hearts of foreigners and that the name of France was respected during his reign, while under the short interval of the king's rule, the French were shamed before the entire world. You wouldn't believe the insolence and vexation that the English made us endure in the colonies.[24]

This interesting perspective was not shared by Eugène or, of course, by "relative" Le Ridant. Both joined the royalist cause and played key roles in the third Chouannerie (labeled "petite" by later historians) under the command of Louis de Sol de Grissoles, a royalist hero nearly as renowned as the Cadoudal brothers. He was a commander in the second Chouannerie (1798–1801), escaped to Britain but returned clandestinely in 1804 to plot Napoléon's aborted assassination, and was thereafter arrested, tortured, and chucked into isolation among the rats at Bicêtre prison for the next ten years. With the First Restoration, Louis XVIII appointed this loyal son (now fifty-three) *maréchal de camp* and governor of Belle-Île, France's fortress in the sea off the Morbihan coast. He happened to be in Paris as the One Hundred Days began and made his way west with his entourage, among whom was Jean-Marie Le Ridant, to begin to reconstruct the networks of the Chouans in the rural communes of the Vannetais with an appointment from his deposed king as commandant of the Royal Army of Brittany.

He created six "legions," each under a "colonel," in the heartland of the old resistance, and Le Ridant would command that of Vannes, Eugène Galles, age twenty-one, serving as one of his three *chefs de bataillon*. Most of their troops were peasants gathered around chiefs of their "clans," *capitaines à chapeau plats*, like Jean-François Letriste of Truhélin, who undoubtedly reported to Galles. Roger Grand, the best historian of the struggle, estimates that at its strongest, this army numbered about fifteen thousand men. Despite the reputation that had long accompanied the aleatory fortunes of these rebels ("faith, courage, endurance, camaraderie, unselfishness, tenacity, simplicity, in-

24. ADM, 2 J 80.

tegrity" on one hand, "indiscipline, impulsiveness, local rivalry, intemperance" on the other),[25] the unity of the Breton forces far exceeded that of the other main center of resistance to Bonaparte, the Vendée. The war that ensued, though characterized to some extent by the hit-and-run tactics, momentary abandonments, and idiotic self-sacrifice of old, looked a good deal more like Napoleonic battles, largely as a result of de Sol's overall strategy, which was to hold coastal areas until the expected arrival of British troops by sea. To coordinate with the British, de Sol chose Le Ridant to accompany Louis Cadoudal to London, so the older veteran missed the direct action.

Although details come almost exclusively from his son's memoirs, it is clear that Eugène Galles fought for the Bourbons at most of the major engagements. He was captured after leaping from a window at Pont-Sal, where he had gone to comfort his aunt Marie after an erroneous report that her husband had been captured at sea, but Eugène quickly escaped, only to be wounded in the thigh. He fought again after a brief convalescence and took another shot in the arm at the battle of Auray, the final encounter in the west before Waterloo, occurring on June 12. The question was who would dominate the Auray estuary and the port of Saint-Goustan (where Benjamin Franklin had first debarked in France many years before). The royal forces had stretched a long line from Auray to Brech in the north, but Bigarré, the Napoleonic commander, simply outflanked it before dawn north of Brech, and proceeded to a major confrontation in an open moor, where his disciplined troops overwhelmed an assembly of several legions, though not Eugène's. In disarray, his Chouans retreated toward Auray and made another stand, symbolically, at the "Field of the Martyrs," where hundreds of Quiberon prisoners had been executed. Another battalion from Vannes, including a contingent of young men from the Collège, joined the battle, but the royals still fell short. The final firefights took place around the bridge from Saint-Goustan to Auray, often in house-to-house combat, in which the legion of Vannes played a central role with numerous casualties, including Eugene's injury. Although the battle was lost, Waterloo soon made it strategically irrelevant, if not in the lore of royalism thereafter. It was a heroic stand, and losses had been substantial. Of all the royal forces in France, none had stood taller than de Sol's, above all the core contingent of Vannes. Eugène, one of its leaders and twice wounded, became fabled in Chouan circles as the young man who "attracted bullets as he did the young ladies."[26]

Fortunately brother Bertin sat out the campaign as his reconverted regiment's assignment was to hold faraway Bonapartist Brest for the Empire. He wrote a fascinating answering letter to Fanny on May 30, 1815. Although war raged in the Chouan heart of Brittany and Napoléon already knew that he was going to have to stand against the allies in Belgium, Brest seemed eerily calm. Bertin spoke of the "boredom" of serving as part of a land force. His main hope was to obtain a leave so that he might make his way home to see his family, especially Fanny's children, Anaïs (his godchild) and the new baby, Adelaïde. He had been anxious about not receiving news from Fanny, though

25. René Galles, "Journal," 1:5.

26. Ibid., 1:5–6. Also see a handwritten, undated "Note" by Eugène Galles II, the original Eugène's grandson, ADM, 2 J 71 (genealogical material).

less because of physical danger from the conflict around Vannes than out of a concern that the family's split loyalties might have frozen him out. He remarks specifically that he wants to be with "a brother [Eugène] whose friend I've always been, especially at this time." His greatest fear, of course, is that his regiment

> [might] be employed to repress the troubles in the interior. It would be with great reluctance that I would take part in such expeditions, for while I strongly disapprove of these troubles that have been incited, I could not believe that their authors were only Frenchmen. Don't we have enough enemies without directing our arms against our own! They certainly foresaw badly, in the revolution, for us children, when they said that we would be happier than they! But these thoughts distress you as they do me; we ought to seek our satisfaction only in the affection of those closest to us and remain united when discord surrounds us.[27]

After a quarter century of upheaval, for Bertin, family, as always, came first.

The events of 1815 were critical in all respects for the Galles family and their kin. Unlike in the dark days of Quiberon, this time they fought on the winning side—all except Bertin. Even he landed upright, however, and gained a commission in the king's navy, no doubt through the good offices of his aunt and uncle Le Ridant. There does appear to have been some tension between Eugène and Bertin, for later on, as Bertin was preparing to embark from Bordeaux, we find sister Aimée urging Eugène to write him "because I know you also love him."[28]

Although in many places the political atmosphere at the beginning of the Second Restoration was acerbic and vindictive, with the "White Terror" raging in the Midi and the shrill voice of the so-called Ultras seeking to turn the clock back to 'eighty-eight (and get their lands back), the run-up to the elections for the Chamber in August in Vannes and the Morbihan—which had been the very core of royalist resistance to Napoléon in France—were surprisingly uneventful. The royalists celebrated with dignity in an atmosphere of reconciliation. As the mayor of Auray, Bonnard du Hanlay (who would be a signatory at Aimée Galles's wedding), put it in a letter to the *sous-préfet* at Lorient on July 18: "We have raised the white flag. Joy was at its height. This symbol of the king's return assures us of the tranquillity to which we have aspired for so long." On July 30 the bishop of Vannes, Monseigneur de Bausset, sang a Te Deum, marching with his entourage along the broad promenade de la Rabine in Vannes between long lines of Chouan *collégiens* on one side and *fédérés*, young volun-

27. Bertin to Fanny, May 30, 1815, 2 J 79 (5). For the entire story of the war in the west and the personalities involved (including three references to Eugène Galles), see Roger Grand, *La Chouannerie de 1815* (Paris, 1942), especially 53–84—the quotation characterizing the Chouan forces (60), the discussion of political divisions in Vannes, the mobilization of the *collégiens*' legion under Galles, their deployment to the west (with a stop for dinner at the Le Ridants' at Pont-Sal), and the first battles near Auray—and (183–200) the battle of Auray.

28. Letter of May 16, 1816, ADM, 2 J 79 (5).

teers from the city who fought for Napoléon, on the other.[29] The elections of 1815 in the department reflected this desire for peace without retribution. The crown instructed prefects to choose presidents of the electoral colleges in each arrondissement whose moderate royalist sentiments were known. René Jollivet would be their man for the fourth arrondissement of the Morbihan, the Vannetais.

His choice made sense. A man of solid royalist convictions with a nephew and a brother-in-law who had borne arms for Louis XVIII, he had nevertheless served his city and department during the Empire. With the First Restoration, the comte de Floirac, the new prefect, tapped him to be a *conseiller de la préfecture*, a position of considerable responsibility reserved for notables with extensive political experience and unquestioning loyalty to the regime in power. After Napoléon's return, Jollivet was abruptly terminated on March 30 by the new prefect, Jullien, replaced, along with the others, by solid republicans/imperials such as Le Bouhéllec and Caradec. Still, he was asked to remain a member of the Conseil général (a less sensitive position), along with a number of other royalists who had also served the Empire as well as several more loyal Bonapartists. Of the eighteen named, only Boullays of Auray ("How can you name me without consulting me?") and Jollivet refused. The latter's letter to Jullien shows a man, unlike his colleague, possibly hedging his bets: "The state of my health hardly allows me to do my office work and keep up with other public responsibilities as well as seeing to the needs of my large family." Though "honored," he asks to be excused. Even if less than principled, the turndown no doubt marked him as a man to be trusted by the restored monarch.[30]

Finally, it is possible that Jollivet may have received a blessing for the electoral college presidency from inside the court itself. His sister Marie-Joseph Le Ridant had succeeded (where he had failed back in 1786) in ingratiating herself with the marquise de Sérent, now a widow, a connection of great significance for the families. René Galles would write in his memoirs: "Our great-aunt Le Ridant had a genius for intrigue on behalf of those she loved. She spent most of her time in Paris, where she had numerous acquaintances in high society, even intimate relations at court. Mme. de Sérent, *dame d'honneur* to the duchesse d'Angoulême, was her good friend. She set this world in motion for her husband and nephew. She would not rest until she succeeded."[31] Although he was writing about Aunt Marie's somewhat later work for Jean-Marie and Eugène, her ties to the duchess's chief lady-in-waiting surely antedated 1815. The duchesse d'Angoulême was at that moment at the height of her popularity and power. The teenaged daughter of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette who barely escaped execution herself, she married her cousin, the second son of the future Charles X, and went on to become a major force in the exile community. She endeared herself to royalists

29. Grand, *Chouannerie*, 233; Jean-Pierre Leguay, dir., *Histoire de Vannes et sa région* (Toulouse, 1988), 202. On the political atmosphere after Waterloo, see Guillaume Bertier de Sauvigny, *La Restauration* (Paris, 1955), 146–67.

30. Jollivet to Jullien, May 9, 1815, and other materials relating to the Conseil général, ADM, 2 M 66; Conseil de la Préfecture, ADM, 2 M 53.

31. René Galles, "Journal," 1:7.

everywhere because of her courageous role in the organization of resistance against Napoléon during the One Hundred Days (earning the emperor's remark that she was "the only man in her family").[32] Her word and that of her lady-in-waiting could easily cement an appointment for a friend's brother.

René Jollivet's presidential address, opening the first round of elections for a new Chamber on August 14, struck the appropriate tone.[33] It may be viewed as a manifesto for a moderate postrevolutionary monarchism. Its central vision was national reconciliation overseen by "good King Louis." It helps us begin to understand why bourgeois *patriotes* and *antipatriotes* and their descendants could come together in friendship, marriage, and commitment to civic duty.

Jollivet began with an attack on Napoléon's "limitless ambition" and "mad projects" that had led to the defeat of "our brave armies" by the concerted powers of Europe. He mentions neither Bonaparte's political repression nor civil conflict, emphasizing that the "yoke" that became "unbearable" derived from the enormous cost of war in men and money, the "uncertainty" and "disorder" of administration, and above all the impact of the Empire on the economy. No sooner had the restored Louis XVIII begun to abolish conscription, restore the workforce, revitalize trade, reestablish commercial shipbuilding, and reorder the tax system than "the man whom France had expelled . . . reappeared. . . . Had heaven judged that the French had not yet expiated the years of crimes and . . . tragic errors? The consequences of this dreadful catastrophe are beyond all expression; what Frenchman does not feel their terrible weight? They are such, Messieurs, that we would despair for the safety of France if Louis XVIII were not there to act as a FATHER toward his subjects, who will be sure to find in his heart even more clemency than justice."

He then averred that the essential first step was to fulfill the king's charter with elections to a new Chamber. And the first task of the gathered electors was to overcome the rancor and divisions of the past. (There were 137 of the 202 men over twenty-one in the arrondissement paying more than the requisite 200 francs in taxes—the *censitaires d'arrondissement* for this election only—present and voting, an average turnout in an election that many liberals boycotted nationwide.)[34] Jollivet's strongest words were reserved for this subject:

> It is here . . . in the electoral colleges that the first seeds of that union and that domestic peace so ardently desired by His Majesty should be manifested. Let us be persuaded, Messieurs, that there is no . . . hope for prosperity in a state delivered over to internal dissension. Let us see only the king. . . . A violent torrent has erupted from the earth and cast into disorder all the elements of the social edifice. Let us apply ourselves to the task of rediscovering them, reassembling them, reuniting them in order to reestablish, in agreement with our good king,

32. André Castelot, *Madame Royale* (Paris, 1974).

33. All quotations are from R.-M. Jollivet, *Discours prononcé par M. le Président du Collège électoral de l'arrondissement de Vannes à l'ouverture de sa session, le 14 août 1815* (Vannes, 1815).

34. See Bertier de Sauvigny, *La Restauration*, 164–65, for the general process of this election; and ADM, 3 M 233, for the numbers.

in a manner henceforth immovable, the bases of that ancient monarchy that will respect the centuries of its inheritance.

Certainly these lines sought to appeal to the ultra-royalists in his audience, but he knew well that his *bon roi* did not simply want to undo those twenty-five years. The very existence of the constitutional charter assured this. Therefore "let us choose men to second our Monarch in his noble and generous dedication to his people [whose] views emerge impartially from the voice of conscience, free from any unexamined influence and all intrigue, men who will be found capable—by virtue of their dedication and their knowledge—of identifying the ills facing the fatherland and lead us to their cure."

The election that followed on the fifteenth surprised no one. In the department where the fighting on behalf of the king was more intense than anywhere else in France, four of the six candidates sent to the departmental electoral college came from the royalist military. But the leading vote getter, with 124 of the 142 cast, was René Jollivet. Count de Floirac, the king's representative to de Sol and currently commander (effectively, prefect) of the department, finished second, with 108 votes. Then came two Chouan leaders, Chevalier Louis-Joseph de Margadal, Eugène's commander at Auray, and Jean-Marie Le Ridant, "propriétaire de Pont Sale [*sic*] et Chevalier de Saint-Louis," with 97 and 96. The final military figure was de Kermoisan, who had been de Sol's *chef d'état-major*, with 75 votes. J.-G. Audouin, a proprietor without other qualifications, rounded out the list, but finished third with 101. The vote was hardly a sweep for the nobility, with only Floirac of the titled variety. De Margadal, a *gentilhomme*, had been fighting for the royalist cause since the Vendée and was clearly the most striking presence in the group, with his towering height, booming voice, shining black eyes, and stately bearing.[35] Close to Le Ridant, he would remain in the Morbihan as a key political force, as both deputy and mayor of Vannes. Despite his record, like Le Ridant and Jollivet (and indeed Floirac and de Kermoisan), he did not side with the Ultras but was devoted to his king. When the departmental college met ten days later, however, the Vannes contingent faced a wealthier, more noble, and decidedly less conciliatory electorate. Only 260 men paid the required 300 francs to vote at this level, and many came from rural strongholds of the old nobility. Still, the moderates did relatively well, though again the military presence was strong. René Jollivet (who did not preside here) finished third, with 114 of the 183 votes cast. Three deputies were counts and high-ranking officers: Admiral Eugène Dangier, cavalry colonel H.-A.-J.-B.-V. Dubotdéru, and General Bonaventure de Perrien. Interestingly, Count de Floirac, the king's man, was rejected, though he may have let it be known that he was soon to be transferred to the prefecture of the Hérault. De Margadal squeaked in with the lowest number of votes (90), while the other electee was a *receveur* from Pleurmel, Dahirel, a commoner like Jollivet.

These men thus went off to the famous *Chambre introuvable*, dominated by the Ultras. Still, the Morbihan contingent, perhaps surprisingly, included only two of them,

35. This is the assessment of one of the young leaders of the Collègiens, François Rio, in his later book *La Petite Chouannerie* (Paris, 1842), 108.

Dangier and Dahirel. One can hypothesize, in the absence of direct evidence, that Jollivet's calm defense of reconciliation may have had some influence on the outcome. In this chamber and those subsequent (he would only be ousted in 1819), Jollivet generally voted with the center-right, rejecting specific association with the Ultras. If he spoke for reconciliation of interests, however, he went only so far. Jollivet became a floor leader on behalf of a proposed law to limit free speech, the vaguely worded bill to outlaw "seditious cries," defined as both direct attacks on the king and those tending "to weaken respect due to the authority of the king" (such as "Long live the Emperor" or waving the tricolor). Said Jollivet, the Chamber must "guard against" excessive "clemency" because "la patrie est en danger" (a striking phrase, that!) and "the peril is imminent. Faithful subjects are compromised; we must come to their aid and guarantee their safety; seditious cries are heard everywhere; we must suppress them." This bill, passed on November 9, 1815, was part of an omnibus package of four laws often known as the "legal white terror," which in many respects mirrored the restrictions on civil liberties sustaining the Terror of the Year II. The country was no doubt in turmoil, and revolutionaries and Bonapartists abounded, but Jollivet reminds us that even the king's best friends surpassed his vision of amnesty and national rehabilitation. Bertier de Sauvigny demonstrated that in fact men like Jollivet—bourgeois, lawyers, not elderly, not émigrés, and holders of responsible positions under the Empire—formed the majority in this body, and even they were "more royalist than the king."[36]

A Sibling Courtship

For the family back in Vannes, the fall of 1815 was a joyful time. Papa Jollivet's elevation to prominence made everyone proud. Jean-Marie Le Ridant was appointed commandant of the National Guard of the Morbihan, a post he would retain while awaiting a place in the Royal Army. Writing later to Eugène, youngest sister Cécile Galles was delighted to watch family and friends march with "*our* National Guard. My uncle holds to decorum as strictly as he does to the good. The officers are now nearly all outfitted. The uniform is quite pretty. Yvon [René Jollivet's third son] looks grand in his," as does Monsieur Monnier (a cousin) "in his wide epaulettes." She concludes: "Nobody works harder than my good uncle. I'm convinced that the king has no servant who gives of himself more than he."[37] Eugène Galles deservedly received a commission as first lieutenant and the position of aide-de-camp to General de Sol on Belle-Îsle. His brother Jean-Marie (now "Galles *ainé*") was titled *imprimeur royal* and was among the ten prefectural appointees to the electoral college of Vannes even though his personal tax fell short of qualification. Money, however, was hardly an issue with the main men of the family. René Jollivet and the two Ridants were among the wealthiest in the arrondissement.

Happy it was, too, in *la vie intime* of the sibling archipelago. Notwithstanding his reputation as a ladies' man, Eugène Galles had come to realize that his true love

36. Adolphe Robert and Gaston Couguy, *Dictionnaire des Parlementaires français* (Paris, 1889), s.v. "Jollivet"; Bertier de Sauvigny, *La Restauration*, 176–78. On the elections in the Morbihan, see ADM, 3 M 233.

37. Cécile to Eugène, Vannes, June 1, 1816, ADM, 2 J 79 (3).

lived—and always had—at home, in the bosom of his family. It was not Françoise Autissier, his second cousin who wrote of love the year before, but rather Adèle Jollivet, his mother's namesake and his cousin-german. The two had grown up together, of course, the closeness further enhanced by the tragedies that melded them into a single family. While Eugène pursued his education at the Collège and Saint-Cyr, Adèle received excellent instruction from an early age in the local *école des filles*, private tutoring, and boarding school chez Mademoiselle Gros in Nantes (1811–1813), where she perfected her written French and became an accomplished pianist.[38] She and Eugène had seen less of each other in the previous three years than ever before, so when they came together again in 1815, both had changed significantly, and so clearly had their sense of each other. How had they become attracted to each other as something more than playmates?

The romance of Adèle and Eugène unfolds in a remarkable correspondence that includes hundreds of letters between the two of them, beginning with glimpses of their courtship, a full portrait of their marriage and careers, and a searing vision of the end. But it is their son René who recounts their earliest moments as *amants*, based on his mother's recollections. Tellingly, the tale involved their aunt Marie as well. Adèle told her son that as she became a young woman during the dark days of the late Empire, she "had often thought of the boy," now off fighting in Germany, "with whom she had played in Vannes, at the château de Truhélin, in the green courtyard of Pont-Sal." She confided her attraction to her dear friend Adèle Le Floch of Auray, a frequent visitor at Pont-Sal, whose attachment to the family was lifelong, and who no doubt confirmed Adèle's memories for René. But it was during the mad months of mid-1815 that their love bloomed for the first time. Adèle, age seventeen, "nearly became a Chouan under the command of her aunt Marie." The château had been Eugène's refuge when he was not in battle, so the two spent many hours and days together—"as much as when they were children." In appearance, "Providence had denied them nothing," and while "their moral qualities were not all similar," wrote their son, "they completed each other in perfect harmony." Most important, perhaps, their relationship was fully endorsed at this time by Aunt Marie. "The latter adored her nephew and niece; she got them to confide in her; and they avowed to her certain promises exchanged along the chestnut-lined drive; she approved of their wishes, but let them understand that the realization of their hopes would have to come at a later time," in view of the uncertainty of Eugène's future. Aunt Marie would see to that (as well as her husband's) by virtue of her connections, become glorious after Waterloo. In the interim, however, "their mother," as Adèle and Eugène considered her in the absence of their own, "authorized" them to correspond "on the condition that they treat each other only as brother and sister." Thus, although their most significant mutual relative had no objection to cousins raised virtually as brother and sister looking toward marriage in the future, they were to cool their ardor for now and return to desexualized sibling love.[39] Such a formula, particularly with Aunt Marie off in Paris doing the business of the

38. Eugène Galles II, "Note."
39. René Galles, "Journal," 1:6–9.

family, proved impossible. And as the story unfolded, it becomes clear that in this age, brother-sister love was only with great effort of will removed from the realm of sex.[40]

Adèle, Eugène's sisters at home—Aimée and Cécile—and indeed Françoise Autissier welcomed and tended to the hero of Auray in the balmy months following the reestablishment of the Bourbons. These five, along with Adèle's brothers René and Yves (Yvon), had grown up together, forming in the absence of their natural mothers (though René Jollivet's third wife certainly succored them) a tight band whose closeness is revealed everywhere in their correspondence. They ranged in age at that point from Aimée and Yvon at twenty-three down to seventeen-year-old Adèle, with Eugène squarely in the middle and the emotional hub of the group. Jean-Marie Galles, saddled with responsibility beyond his years early on, emerged almost as a father figure for the rest and was always referred to simply as "Galles" by his siblings. Fanny and Bertin seem to have formed a smaller island in the chain, while the two older Jollivet sons (François and Jean-Baptiste) were another (clearly more distant) one, with the Kercado brood, ranging in age from one to twelve, constituting a coddled fourth.[41]

It should come as no surprise that our first letters on the courtship of Adèle and Eugène come from Eugène's actual sisters writing to him upon his arrival on Belle-Île.[42] Cécile writes (January 17, 1816), "We were so worried about not hearing of your safe passage that every time a knock came at the door, Adèle and I froze with fear." What a relief it was when his first letter arrived. Cécile celebrated by redecorating his room, which she knows he'll find "charming." Aimée then writes a month later on Ash Wednesday about the delightful Carnival she has spent, with parties and balls each night, culminating in a grand dinner, with turkey as the centerpiece, chez Maman Jollivet. It appears that Adèle was not at home but rather had visited Eugène, for Aimée jokes about his dancing and drinking a "coupe de croc" with "ta Ménagère" on Mardi Gras, and then proceeds, in a serious vein, to write: "You tell me not to be jealous of Adèle. Well, that's a fault I'd never have toward her, for the greater her affection for you, the more it gives me pleasure, since I take joy in seeing you happy together. I only ask that you save a portion of your affection for a sister who loves you most tenderly."

Aimée's next letter (April 3) introduces a new wrinkle, her own courtship, opening a parallel—surrogate?—relationship and a remarkably revealing discourse on the affective universe of siblings in the early nineteenth century. She writes Eugène from Lorient, where she has gone to meet Bertin, who is putting in briefly before returning to Bordeaux. She pouts that she has a letter from Adèle saying Eugène hasn't written anyone since his stay in Vannes two weeks before, which is "most naughty of you; we

40. For a trenchant analysis of this notion, see David Warren Sabean, "Kinship and Issues of the Self around 1800," in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Sabean (New York, 2011), chap. 10. See also my discussion in the introduction of sexuality via Foucault in the Revolutionary Age.

41. On issues surrounding age range and age gaps among siblings, see Leonore Davidoff, "Kinship as a Categorical Concept: A Case Study of Nineteenth-Century Siblings," *Journal of Social History* 39 (2005): 411–28.

42. Unless otherwise noted, these letters (dates indicated in the text) are in ADM, 2 J 79.

were afraid that you were ill or even drowned." Happily, today she ran into a deliveryman for the base, who gave her his news. So she writes this letter that the courier can take back to Belle-Îsle with Adèle's. And what news it is!

> My aunt [Marie] and my uncle Jollivet [René] are very happy with the party who presents himself for me. They know the individual, who is a man of quite agreeable outward appearance, having wit, means, and a very good demeanor, and good prospects for advancement and can return to our region if he wishes. My aunt has obtained information about his reputation within the [fiscal] administration [where he works], and he is highly regarded. It is said that he might be placed in Redon, thus near us all. It is now for me to decide, and that's most difficult. I can't get a sense of what to do. I wish my aunt were here so we could talk directly. But I must answer, and I have only a letter for counsel. Galles . . . responded only with these words: It's you whom this concerns. So it was only your Adèle who gave me a real hearing. But my relatives in the big city say yes; it is now a question of saying it too. Give me your approbation—Aunt will write you for it.

So it was that Aimée was "courted." André Savantier (whom Aimée fails to mention by name in the letter) was born in Auray of a *moyen-bourgeois* family with connections of friendship, and distant kinship, with the Jollivets. André's mother, a Henry, was the sister of Gertrude Henry Kerdu, a close friend of aunt Marie Jollivet, a frequent visitor at Pont-Sal, and an ardent royalist who never tired of telling tales of the Choannerie. She surely served as the go-between for the arrangement. André, however, figures nowhere in previous correspondence, and it is clear that if Aimée had ever met him, it was so long before that her aunt felt obliged to comment on his appearance. Although Aimée's marriage had no doubt been a subject of family discussion, she could have expected that the usual round of parties, balls, dinners, and country outings would produce a range of potential partners. At twenty-three, she was hardly ancient, although Fanny had been married at twenty-one. Thus, such an arrangement appears surprising. Even so, Aimée seems more concerned that her aunt should speak to her directly than she is about spending time with her possible *futur* before making up her mind. She could still back out, of course, but she ends up by making a serious commitment sight unseen.

The fact is that she was much more interested in the developing relationship between her brother and their *cousine*. To set the scene a bit: Aimée and Cécile lived with their older brother Galles in the big house next to the publishing business on the renamed place Royale. Around the corner lived Adèle and Françoise along with Maman Désirée and the new Kercado-Jollivet family. Deputy René Jollivet returned regularly. Adèle's oldest brother, François, a barrister and not yet married, was in and out. Yvon still lived at home, but was in training to take over his father's notarial business. René Jollivet II, now a navel officer, made occasional appearances. Fanny Galles Pavin lived in Redon with her husband and two daughters. They, as well as the now widowed Louis Prud'homme and his daughter, also called Fanny, seventeen, and the Galles children's only living cousin on their Aunt Perrine's side, were frequent visitors.

All summered in Pont-Sal or Truhélin. Aunt Marie Jollivet Le Ridant and her recommissioned husband lived in Paris, where he was currently attached to the War Ministry, but frequently returned to Vannes (and he to Belle-Îsle) or to their country estate. Marie, childless, linked all via a large correspondence and served as the family's major connection with "society" (meaning especially "Tout-Paris"). The young women in Vannes spent, it appears from their letters, most of their waking hours together at one house or the other. Adèle was simply regarded as Aimée's and Cécile's sister: Aimée refers to her as "our sister" even in her letters to Eugène.

The courtship between the two cousins was, almost literally, *among* the four of them. Aimée's letters to Eugène during what for her should have been the most important time of her young life—her own courtship and marriage—almost exclusively concern life in her consanguineal family and, above all, the love affair between Adèle and Eugène. On April 29, 1816, she writes:

> *Mon cher ami*, I received your letter only today. . . . I think that you had a most agreeable surprise in seeing Uncle Ridant at Belle-Îsle, and I console myself for his absence here by thinking about the pleasure he gave my Eugène in going to visit him there. Bertin should pass quite close to you on Saturday—he certainly wanted to see you before his departure. He spared us painful adieux: the ill winds of Friday caused us to hope we'd see him several more times, but they changed abruptly overnight. He hopes to return from his voyage in six months at the most.
>
> My aunt Marie has not written me since the letter [about Savantier], [but] I just got her package from Paris for my uncle. . . . I'll have to wait for him to come. You ought to come with him . . . [so] you would also see us—wouldn't that be nice? Do you know that I'm your agent for hugs and kisses? I own a stock of them to sell to you, although my neck's not long enough. Otherwise I already would have sold a hundred. I'm right here with the charming Adèle, who is also writing you, making jokes at my expense, because I believe a certain person has beautiful eyes that I'd tear mine out for and as beautiful as yours, but she believes none in the world could match yours. I believe that's quite enough "I believe" [*je crois*] in four lines. That's why I believe that it's time I stop, for I believe that I will end up by not knowing how to say anything but I believe. So I stop in embracing you and assuring you that I believe I'm your best friend.
>
> Aimée

Aimée and Adèle usually write Eugène together. Cécile is often there as well. The wordplay and innuendoes are part of the game. We have to marvel at Aimée's ability to put aside her own anxiety about her future to talk of family, Eugène's happiness, and then of course the joy of sheer silliness with Adèle.

This letter ties several lines together. Despite physical distance between the two of them when Aimée was a child, she has genuine affection for her uncle Le Ridant and knows Eugène does as well. Part of it may have been hero worship, especially since Aimée took a passionate interest in the conflict of 1815. She knew "the battle of Auray by heart and [Aimée] makes me recite to her all the events occurring in our part of

the world so fertile in great things" (Cécile to Eugène, June 1, 1816). But Ridant was also the husband of Aunt Marie, whose constant solicitude for the needs and interests of all family members made her (and him) the center of their universe. Aimée seems almost relieved at Bertin's quick departure, which lessened its pain, underlining the depth of sibling ties even with the most distant among them both physically and politically. Even the more distant Prud'hommes count, blood of their departed aunt. In a month, Aimée would go to Redon to be with sister Fanny during the later stages of her most recent pregnancy. The closer a family, the better. Of course, nothing pleases Aimée more than to write to her brother, "mon Eugène," as his "best friend," about her "sister" Adèle (and thus his), whom he loves—and she tells him why.

Two weeks later, on May 16, 1816, Aimée chides Eugène: "If by chance you should come to Vannes during my absence [in Redon], come get me, because, let's be clear, I have to be here with you. We certainly don't want Adèle to be by herself." Aimée says that she would like to tell him something "concerning myself" but has not had a line from either Aunt Marie or "the individual. They must be dead." She has found out that her *futur* has been promised a local tax inspector's position. So much for that. She goes on to write about Papa Jollivet's imminent arrival and making sugar almonds sent to Eugène to "cure your cold," with more to come if necessary. About his last letter: "Adèle never found you so silly, nor I so rude, when you compared her to a diamond and me to an uncut stone—hardly flattering, but I forgive you, for love is blind." Aimée's repartee thus continues despite her own troubling situation.

No letters remain from Aimée in Redon, but Cécile's of June 1 and 15, 1816, survive. The youngest Galles sister was only a few months older than Adèle and is described in several contexts as her best friend, despite the obvious closeness of Aimée as well. Cécile was afflicted with an unidentified disease, probably tuberculosis. As with Louisa May Alcott's Beth, however, she bore her burden with patience and good humor, and was gentle and compassionate with others, though she was willing to make judgments. She was also self-deprecating, as when in discussing her niece Anaïs, she feared that although the girl might grow to be tall and strong, "unlike her aunt," she resembles "me a good deal, which is hardly a source of pride." Like Aimée, Cécile was captivated by the budding romance between her brother and her *cousine*. To Eugène on June 1: "You owe me at least a little gratitude for thinking about you often and for talking about you very often with our dear Adèle. And it's not necessary, I assure you, to make her think about you. There she is, sad. She finds Belle-Îsle much too far from Vannes. She's happy only when she thinks that she will see you soon and she counts the days. The places where she can view the sea are those that please her the most. Finally, her favorite turnips are those that come from Belle-Îsle. What more can one say?" Two weeks later, Cécile chides Eugène for not writing—but she understands: he would rather spend his time "inventing verses for some pretty Belle-Îlloise. So have at it, my brother, pursue your conquest, but I pray you not forget that love ought not neglect friendship." The second sister pines as well. She's also excited, for she has received an invitation to a ball in honor of the marriage of the duc de Berry. She will go if her uncle Jollivet is in town and so will Adèle, "even though she doesn't like parties and balls nearly as much as she used to. What might be the cause? I'll leave it to you to calculate."

Cécile also tells Eugène that Aimée is anxious to leave Redon, despite her enthusiasm about the arrival of "their nephew" ("Fanny's had enough girls for now"), projected for the end of the summer; Galles will go to fetch her in a few days. She has been missing all the fun. Aunt Marie has been to see her, and no doubt filled her in on the details of her engagement (but no one says much about it) and then headed for Pont-Sal, where Cécile had gone with two Ridant cousins. Then came the news of the great royal engagement festival, which would culminate in the marriage of the duke and duchess of Berry on June 17, 1816.[43]

Sometime in early July, Eugène came home on leave amid the usual hubbub. As it turned out, the visit seems to have gone badly for the two young lovers. Aimée's next letter, of July 30, captures the mood, if not the specifics. Eugène had poured his heart out to her.

> [Your letter] is new proof of your affection for me, since you grant me your confidence and choose me to soothe your oppressed heart. Calm your anxieties, my friend. Never have they been so ill founded. You must believe that the good Adèle is worthy in all regards, that you still hold her affection, and if possible it is even greater than before. I have studied Adèle in depth for a long time—and you as well, good Eugène. I have known your inclination toward her from the beginning. With some pain, I saw you become attached to her, and her thoughtlessness [*ses étourderies*] made me fear that you would experience a bottomless pool of sorrows. But now just think how happy I am, since I believe that I have had a small part in the transformation of your destinies.

In the midst of the crisis, Aimée and Adèle had gone to stay with Aunt Marie at Pont-Sal. Aimée revealed to her the depth of the budding relationship between Marie's favorite niece and nephew. Their aunt "immediately thought of making a happy couple [*faire deux heureux*]" and sat down with Adèle to help her sort through her feelings and "bring her back to reason. It didn't take long for Adèle to become herself again and value your affection," realizing "that she would only be happy when loving Eugène."

Aimée took full credit for having played Cupid:

> You know that after all this, I wouldn't be content, having begun your road to happiness, to not do everything possible to assure its continuation. I can thus tell you that Adèle loves you more each day. . . . She works to give proof of it. A solid and rational mind is replacing lightness and thoughtlessness. . . . She makes it her study to embellish her mind and her heart . . . by reading instructive and interesting books. Her goal is that her Eugène will find his happiness with her and he will always hold her dear.

43. For a study of the ill-fated marriage and the political ramifications of its termination, see David Skuy, *Assassination, Politics, and Miracles: France and the Royalist Reactions of 1820* (Montreal, 2003), especially 5–8 for this moment.

The turning point came when Adèle received an anguished letter from Eugène and shared it with Aimée:

> "I must read you the letter that he wrote to me." She took care not to read me the first page. I said nothing as she read the rest. "Poor Eugène is terribly sad, don't you think? I didn't read it all to you, but I'm going to make up for my mistake." Then she read me the first page. . . . Tears welled up in her eyes. After that, she said that she wanted her aunt Ridant to come back [she had returned to Paris] and that she had cried and cried in reading your letter last night. Ah, Eugène, do not doubt her love for you. No, my friend. The idea of seeing you in sorrow for an instant torments her too much. Thus let your good humor return. Everything smiles for you. You have nothing but happiness to look forward to. Tell me, my friend, that you are content, for I am miserable when my good brothers are not.

Thus it was that Aimée—and her good aunt—cured the *mal de coeur* of her brother on behalf of her cousin-sister. She was, in fact writing the love letter that Adèle did not, but also writing a letter that might have been to her own lover. The overlapping lines of emotional connection revealed here speak to the heart of the new sibling-based familial universe of the age. And of course it was Aunt Marie (for whom Adèle cries out in her anguish) who initially soothed the wounds that separated and massaged the bonds that united her niece and nephew. It is also important to underline Adèle's focus on self-improvement—the need to mature by willing it so—and the centrality of intellectual development as part of the process of becoming a prospective wife.[44]

Most remarkable of all, perhaps, is that Aimée had her own problems with "love," to which she devotes merely the last seventeen lines of this eighty-line letter:

> We didn't talk about what is going on with me during your stay. There's really not much new to say. We have written each other once, Monsieur S. and I, since. He has asked my aunt Ridant, every time he writes to her, to pass along his news to me, but since she writes only on the 32nd of the month, our correspondence by commission moves along rather slowly. My aunt did write me one or two days before your visit here that he should have a preferred receiver's office. Within two weeks, my uncle Jollivet, whom I contacted about it, wrote to Monsieur de Barante [the minister of finances] not to forget that he had promised him a receivership [*un contrôle*]. I don't know what he will have decided for us. We are quite patient lovers—and quite rational—aren't we? I certainly would be more at ease if I knew the individual a little and am eager to have him come to know the charming, the amiable person who is due to capture all his affection. He fancies that he has found in me someone blessed with the finest qualities, but

44. This is a fundamental theme in nineteenth-century bourgeois marriage, and one perhaps not emphasized enough in the literature. But see Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (Chicago, 1987); and my discussion later in this chapter.

> what will he say, my friend, when he finds only little Aimée who has no other merit than having a good heart?

The businesslike nature of Aimée's approaching engagement and her rather sarcastic tone contrast sharply with the romance of Eugène and Adèle. Two different marital regimes are simultaneously at work here. Aimée's is an arranged marriage, pure and simple. Her aunt located an appropriate match, was seconded by the young woman's uncle-father, who had the power to make appropriate arrangements, and Aimée responded appropriately, seemingly without an enormous amount of soul-searching. André Savantier was fourteen years her senior, attractive enough, well established, and from a "good" family. Although the Savantiers were connected by friendship with the Jollivets, this was an exogamous connection of the older sort. Indeed, we sense that the family are rather relieved that things have worked out so well. As for Aimée, indications are strong that her passions flamed (inappropriately) for her dashing brother, and while she could satisfy them to an extent by entering the heart of the (acceptable) affair between Eugène and Adèle, the Savantier marriage provided a safe haven where illicit love might cool.

This personal drama aside, cousin marriage, as we shall see in some detail later, is a central feature of a new marital regime and its attendant horizontal kinship system that flowers in the nineteenth century, especially among the bourgeoisie. Brothers and sisters, cousins and *cousines*, uncles and aunts are the crucial links in the system. Unlike the older regime, the new is fueled by love (not to say that attraction before marriage and the "growth" of love within were absent in the old). But what kind of love? It would be simple enough to say "romantic," for this supposedly defines the age. Explorations of the depths of the heart, the layers of yearning, the *Weltschmerz* afflicting the lover's soul are familiar enough themes in contemporary literature. In general, however, the Romantic protagonist was a free-floating individual whose internal turmoil took center stage. This seems distant from the realities of love presented to us through collections of letters such as the Galles'. The novels of Austen capture that reality much more closely than *The Sorrows of Young Werther*. It was an embedded love, a participatory love, in which family swirled about the lovers, indeed, in which family often *were* the lovers. The passions were no less real, but they were visible, and if dissected, were presented not as musings on a mountaintop but as intimate tête-à-têtes among one's siblings and cousins and "best friends."[45]

Aimée Galles and André Savantier were married on December 10, 1816. We have no letters to guide us about the event, but must assume the couple had the usual engagement festivities and some time to get to know each other. Their marriage certificate still lists him as a *receveur* in Ribémont (Aisne), however, so it may have been a pretty brief courtship. Savantier's parents were both dead. His father had been a customs agent in Auray, which was a fairly significant port; his mother was a Henry,

45. This new kinship regime and how it differed from its predecessor in which vertical "bloodline" was the organizing principle has been analyzed in depth in a variety of studies brought together through the enterprise of David Sabean and his team via colloquia and conferences and resultant publications over the past decade. See my discussion in the introduction.

an Auray family sprinkled with notaries and lawyers, whose younger generations, in time, would move more into the Galles siblings' orbit and provide one future marriage partner. The witnesses included uncle Jean-Marie Le Ridant and brother Jean-Marie Galles for Aimée, former mayor R. A. Bonnard of Auray and a noble, vicomte de Pontivy-Trédion, a sixty-six-year-old municipal councilor of Vannes, for André. The atmosphere no doubt reeked of triumphant royalism, though one might wonder about the propriety of a wedding during Advent. Aimée's dowry was modest, and other gifts followed suit. The whole family except Bertin, who was at sea, gathered for the affair and saw the newlyweds off to the site of André's new post, Châteaulin in far western Brittany.

On December 30, Aimée writes from her new home:

> *Mon cher* Eugène, here we are still separated, and, instead of ten leagues apart, it's forty. I hope that our distance will not change the affection we have for each other, that you will always love your Aimée as she loves you. Write me, send me your news often as well as that of our sister Adèle. Make me part of all that concerns you. You know how interested I am in seeing you happy and what pleasure it gives me when you are; continue forever to regard me as your friend and be assured that, even though I am farther than you from the one you love, when you need my services in her regard, my pen and even my feet if need be to go to her are at your beck and call.

Aimée's anxiety about somehow losing her closeness to Eugène and her role as go-between was heightened by deep concerns for the safety of both her brothers and the unpleasantness of her new surroundings. This was the frozen winter of 1816–17, the very worst in memory and the prelude to the worldwide crop-destroying chill of the following spring and summer. The seas were roiling as winds raked the Atlantic. Eugène left for Belle-Îsle on the twenty-fourth, and no word had yet reached her of his safe arrival. More gravely, Bertin was on the high seas and no letters had arrived since he left Bordeaux on June 1. "Every time there is a blast of wind" Aimée thinks of him and trembles, knowing that many have been lost this year.

She hopes that Uncle Le Ridant will be assigned to Brest so she might have the pleasure of seeing him:

> This would help me bear the burden of being separated from my own. You have no idea of what a place [*pays*] I live in. . . . This is the ugliest hole I've ever seen. But the social life is just fine and compensates a little for the unpleasantness of living here. When I get to know the people I socialize with better, maybe I'll be more pleased to be here. Meanwhile, *je me désennui près de* [I find amusement with or kill time with] my husband, who is a right good boy and can only bring happiness to your sister.

Having written Eugène first, Aimée must now get to her other New Year's letters. She signs off, despite having devoted only one rather equivocal sentence to him, by saying: "My husband and I embrace you. Your sister and good friend, Aimée Savantier, née

Galles." Her letter needs little commentary but perfectly illustrates the stresses as well as the expectations of arranged marriages. Aimée's heart remains in Vannes with her siblings. Nevertheless, she'll make the best of unpleasant surroundings and her boring rounds of married life.

Aimée coped sufficiently with ennui to become pregnant almost immediately. We learn of it under the most tragic of circumstances. In the only letter referring directly to it, André Savantier writes a lovely condolence on March 4, 1817, to Eugène about the death of Bertin in a shipwreck off the African coast. He had intercepted that news from Vannes, fearing that telling Aimée immediately would bring on a miscarriage, for she was at a delicate moment, at three months, in her pregnancy. Cécile's arrival made matters clear and perhaps more gently brought the word, as well as someone "to weep with her." Cécile also writes Eugène from Châteaulin to say she hopes that she can help her sister weather the storm. They are planning to return together to Vannes, and the activity itself, along with the consolation of seeing all her family, including Eugène, should prevent Aimée from "abandoning herself to her grief, which might have unfortunate consequences." Cécile was impressed with André through this trying time: "I don't know my brother-in-law very well, and I feared that Aimée's happiness might be jeopardized with him. But I am much reassured. I believe that she will always be as warmly treated as she is right now. Her husband has excellent qualities and loves her very much. Their little household is as nice as can be. The house is the most pleasant in town. . . . [I am] not worried about his affection for her, . . . and she'll have it all her life." It must be said that this is a largely one-way commentary; Aimée's feelings are not assessed. Still, there's warmth where there might have been only rectitude.

In April we find Aimée with "her own" in Vannes. It's the afternoon of the seventeenth, and the three "sisters" are together doing their favorite thing—talking about Eugène. Cécile has the principal responsibility to write to him. Uncle-Papa Jollivet has been in town and left a brief letter for her to send assuring Eugène that his commission as captain has been finalized. But it was Cécile's job to write him about the particulars: what to include in a petition to the minister and other instructions about bureaucratic details. This she does clearly and concisely. The promotion itself owed a great deal to the efforts of Marie Le Ridant; correspondence between Eugène and his aunt available to René Galles when he wrote his "Journal" in the 1880s makes her role clear.[46] Her niece then finishes off the job, all of which rather muddles our standard notions of the gender division between the public and private spheres.

Cécile closes her letter by turning the pages over to Adèle and Aimée, "your true beloveds," all in assuring him that she loves him too. Adèle's note is brief, speaking of a letter from Aunt Marie and Papa's upcoming visit, and then: "I don't know why, but I'm in one of my days of sadness; adieu, I don't want to pass it on to you. *Je t'aime et je t'embrasse de tout mon coeur*, Adèle." Aimée then, in effect, writes for her, with a telling twist: "I spent the day with Adèle, and you can be certain that you were the subject of our conversation. She loves you so much, my friend, but I doubt if she could have

46. René Galles, "Journal," 1:8–9.

greater affection for you than your Aimée. You are so kind and good that everyone who knows you loves you dearly. It's in waiting for you [to come soon], my friend, that *je t'embrasse et t'aime de tout mon coeur*." So Adèle, whose spells of this sort will continue, cedes the stage to Aimée, who finally says it: that she loves him as much as Adèle does. Perhaps we should not make too much of this, but the words are plain enough. And she concludes with virtually the same song of love as did Adèle.

Aimée would stay in Vannes until June. Eugène came home for an extended visit, and in the course of the late spring and summer, he and Adèle decided to marry. The correspondence of their courtship, forty-two letters from him and fifty-seven from her, was largely retained by their son and is not publicly available, if it still exists. René did turn over several crucial letters, however, and also gave his impression of the exchange between the "young lovers." Charles, the captain of a merchant sloop that ran the route between Belle-Îsle and Vannes, delivered their letters personally. As René describes the pair: "She: an imagination full of charm, freshness, and sensibility but tempered by good judgment, solid reason, and an ever-present sense of duty. He: a bit less witty perhaps, more passionate (I often thought in reading them of Captain Jean-François),[47] but with a strong sense of his future obligations as a husband and father to which he had the same dedication as that to his sword and epaulettes." Through Aimée, of course, we have already seen that the affair was not always as idyllic as this impression would have it (one wonders whether René read her letters carefully, for if he had, we might not have them today), and there were also certain practical impediments, as Aunt Marie had already signaled in a general way. On the one hand, was Eugène, only twenty-four, financially prepared for an early marriage, especially since his older brother remained a bachelor despite his obvious success in revitalizing the publishing house and his emergence as a local notable? Fanny and Aimée were safely, if modestly, established, but Cécile was not yet, nor was Françoise Autissier. Only one of Adèle's brothers had married, making young Eugène prospectively just the second male of his generation to do so. On the other hand, no one had amassed as much political capital, for he was the only royalist war hero among them, and this counted a great deal with his aunt.

As it turned out, the marriage of Adèle and Eugène did not come about without some travail. It certainly had nothing to do with their kinship. It is mentioned, with love, all the time. In the ten letters that we have from Eugène during their courtship, he addresses her, to be sure, as "mon Adèle," "ma chérie," "ma bonne amie," and "ma bonne femme," but just as often as "ma chère cousine" and indeed "ma très chère soeur." Aunt Marie enthuses that they have loved each other as "brother and sister" since the days when they played together at Pont-Sal. It is Aimée, as usual, who offers

47. This is undoubtedly a reference to Jean-François de Galaup, comte de La Pérouse, the French equivalent of Captain Cook. He was a combat naval officer who sailed out of Brest and fought during both the Seven Years' War and the American Revolutionary War in the new world, gaining many honors for his bravery and successes. He married a Creole, adding to his exotic reputation. In 1785 he was chosen by the king to lead a scientific expedition around the world; after he charted many regions of the Pacific, returning voluminous reports, his ship disappeared off Australia in 1788, adding to the romance of his career. Only in 2005 was a wreck off Vanikoro in the Santa Cruz Islands definitively identified as his ship. Dozens of sites around the world are named for him.

the greatest insight. Theirs will not in fact be a "love match," but something more. She writes Eugène on August 29, 1817:

> I received your letter, my good friend, which gave me the double pleasure of getting your news and knowing that finally your happiness is assured. Believe me, no one shares your joy more than I. The affection [*l'amitié*] you have one for the other with Adèle cannot be extinguished, as often happens in *mariages d'inclination*, since it does not go back only a few years, but all your lives. Accustomed from your childhood to your *chérie* as a sister and she loving you as a brother, you have contracted an affection that will die only with life itself. You two will be happy, my good friends, and you were destined to be so, endowed as you both are with the finest qualities. You can't help but find happiness in the heart of your household. Make our Adèle as happy as she deserves. I have no anxiety about her destiny since it is entrusted to your care. If I did not know you to be perfectly sensible, I would be concerned to see you marry so young, but for a long time now, serious reflection has matured your reason.

Consanguinity from this perspective is thus a positive force for lasting happiness in marriage, just as it had been in the long years of growing up together. Aimée was exhibiting nothing aberrant or even unusual in her love for her brother, as earlier recounted, nor was she now in her formula for lifetime happiness.

She reveals, in fact, the core of a now maturing set of values that honors close marriage. It is not just respectable but desirable. What joy in living one's entire existence in the warmth and familiarity of "one's own"! And Aimée knew all too well, because she would not experience the same delight, consigned to a marriage of the older sort. Hers was one, practically speaking, that widened the net of contacts and created loyal clients among the Savantiers' circle and potential positions down the line in the tax administration. And certainly such marriages would not disappear in the nineteenth century. But within a bourgeoisie of sufficient significance and wealth, a culture of endogamy was emerging. On the practical level, clientage was less the issue than consolidation of power, prestige, and assets already gained, and close marriage made sense. Was it a "strategy?" What was the nature of the interaction between interest and emotion in the emergence of this new marital regime? This is not the place to enter into an extended analysis of this question, but a full picture of the events, arguments, exchanges, and cast of characters surrounding the marriage of Adèle Jollivet and Eugène Galles will provide some guideposts.[48]

Let us first continue to read Aimée's letter about its prospect. Christian belief and sibling/marital love simply intertwine:

> Don't forget, my friend, that Religion should be . . . the basis of the knot that you will tie. You should realize that our Happiness cannot be complete if, living with the object of our love, we do not have the hope of never separating, either

48. On the question in general, see the introduction.

> in this life or in the next. But a person who abandons his [religious] duties gives up mutual happiness, because his spouse, especially one as good and loving as Adèle, cannot imagine, without mortal sorrow, that death will end the happiness of her husband, of the being closest to her heart. Ascribe this little sermon to my affection for you and my hope of your continued love for me. If only you knew how much I desire your happiness. And if I am happy, I owe you my thanks for it, since it is founded in great part on your attachment to me.

Aside from our once again sensing that Eugène's enthusiasm for the throne was greater than for the altar, these lines present a neat merger of deep romantic love and the standard Catholic theology of marriage. Aimée's passionate rendering of the notion of never-ending love is followed without a break by her own plea for full participation in *their* happiness.

The same fear that sibling love might dim after marriage had occurred on the eve of Aimée's own wedding the previous year. She did have now, perhaps, some grounds for concern. She had left Vannes to return to Châteaulin on June 24 and had received only three letters, two from Cécile and one from Françoise Autissier. She feared that she might have done something to offend Adèle and looks to Eugene for reassurance. As it turned out, the young lovers were in turmoil, even as Eugène wrote to Aimée in late August (his first letter since they had seen each other in May). What they were doing at that point was taking a family poll, he writing his siblings and Adèle hers, on the question of their marriage, with the goal, it appears, of presenting a common front of the younger generation on their behalf against the misgivings of Aunt Marie and, to a lesser degree, Papa Jollivet about the timing of the marriage.

What had happened in the interim? In early June the Le Ridants had invited Eugène to Paris. One reason was to show him around their circle, many of whom were military officers and their wives. The Belle-Îsle base was going to close. And Brest was far too distant for a man with the ambition of Jean-Marie Le Ridant. The command of the legion of the Loiret was soon to become available and Le Ridant hoped to win it, along with a promotion. Eugène might be placed as a captain under his uncle. Dinners and balls, of course, constituted elements of the campaign organized by Aunt Marie on behalf of her glamorous Chouans. And it made sense that the captain should have a beautiful (and politically connected) young woman on his arm. And thus did Adèle Jollivet come to stay in Paris with her father in July. It was during this time—was it Paris?—that love bloomed fully. (A woman in the next box at the opera remarked to Aunt Marie that the two of them together were "like a novel.") Aunt Marie appears to have remained their guardian angel, even seeming to encourage an earlier wedding date than she had originally envisaged. During this time, Adèle and Eugène had revealed the depth of their relationship and their hopes for the future to her father. René Jollivet was apparently taken aback that he had understood so little of it before, but he did not oppose their goal. The couple was overjoyed. In a letter to Eugène, René said that nothing would make him happier than "to give you the sweet name of son; but reason calls upon you to wait, with patience, for the indispensable period of time that I will need to bring about the fulfillment of your wishes." There was, above all, the matter of Eugène's military assignment, which appeared to depend on his other

uncle's, and would require active lobbying by Deputy Jollivet. The couple's cousinship was never mentioned.

Adèle passed on the good news to her aunt, whom she saw in late July at Pont-Sal. Her next letter to Eugène, from Vannes in early August, reveals a curious ("bizarre" in the words of René II) turn in the affair:

> Can you imagine? Our good aunt is much colder toward me. When I arrived at Pont-Sal, she asked me if you had talked to Papa. I said yes and that Papa had said to await his return from Paris after the session [of the Chamber of Deputies] of 1818, during which he would take all the necessary steps. That same evening she said to me, quite simply, that she was angry to see the date put off so far because she would have taken such pleasure in being a witness to our happiness sooner. I too said I regretted it. Thereafter I received your two letters, my friend, and I read both of them to her, the last evening before I left Pont-Sal. And suddenly those lightning bolts that you know blazed in her eyes; she said she was not happy with you; that you had been two-faced [*dissimule*] toward her; that you had not spoken to her about what you had said to Papa; that some people [*on*] neglect others when they no longer need them. I tried to apologize for you as much as I could, sure that your intention had never been to hide anything from her. But she did not believe me. She even said to me that henceforth nothing could dissuade her, because if you wrote to her now, she would know that this was because I had spoken to you about it.

So the aunt who could arrange all also needed to control all. It was she who had counseled delaying telling Adèle's father in the first place, and now that the deed was done, presumably with her general sanction, things had been said that she had not preapproved. This, then, was the occasion for undertaking the sibling support strategy; but Eugène also urged Adèle to be as gentle and respectful as possible toward their aunt in the hope that her anger would pass.[49]

This turned out to be easier said than done. Eugène was incredulous: "I can't believe our good aunt has withdrawn her affection—we love her too much for that." They often spoke of her as "our mother," and as his mother's and her father's sister, she certainly was the most logical surrogate for their own dead mothers. "Maman" Kerado Jollivet, Adèle's stepmother, though loved by both, does not occupy nearly the same place in their (or the other siblings') lives, as evidenced throughout the correspondence, where she is mentioned less frequently and seems more worthy of a hug than of the rapt attention that Aunt Marie commands. Well into October, Eugène is still waiting for signs that she has forgiven him. He returned home for a visit late in

49. This story is reconstructed from René Galles's musings in his "Journal" (1:13–15); Aimée's letter of August 30, 1817; and Eugène's to Adèle, September 1, 1817 (ADM 2 J 79 [5, 6]). Adèle's letter is copied in the "Journal," 1:14. Some support for the notion that the delights of Paris enhanced their love can be found in a later letter from Eugène to Adèle (August 11, 1818), where he speaks of "your Paris." On the pleasures and sparkle of high society, "Tout-Paris," during the Restoration, see Anne Martin-Fugier, *La vie élégante ou la formation du Tout-Paris, 1815–1848* (Paris, 1990).

the month and sat down with her for a serious discussion but came away frustrated. "She still reproaches me and I know I don't deserve it. I apologized in a thousand ways, but she still found me guilty of negligence toward her." Perhaps time would heal the wound. "We have too many obligations toward our aunt that I should ever forget them."[50] Still, the couple's sibling solidarity offensive had borne fruit. Jean-Marie Galles, as usual, had simply said that their marriage was their business, but Aimée, as we know, was ecstatic, Fanny delighted, while Cècile, at the heart of things, weighed in to help sway Aunt Marie. Adèle's brothers all registered their approbation, with René Junior, her father's favorite, counting the most.[51] On September 15, Eugène acknowledged Adèle's thankful letter about her stepmother's cheerful endorsement. Although her father, who of course would be legally responsible for both of them as Eugène's guardian (Eugène regularly refers to him as "our father"), continued to worry about the logistics—and perhaps the finances—of it all, he gave them his formal blessing in spite of Aunt Marie. Soon his principal concern disappeared. Eugène's appointment as captain in the Légion du Loiret came through—one of the many "obligations" to Aunt Marie the prospective bridegroom fretted about. Things had thus fallen into place, and in time, their good aunt would overcome her wounds, no doubt with the gentle caresses of the Galles sisters.

By now the whole family had something more to celebrate: Bertin Galles Savantier arrived on September 17, 1817. Aimée had instructed Eugène: "Fire a twenty-one-gun salute when I give birth. I know you want a little nephew, Cécile ibidem; it's only the Savantier family that wants a girl—maybe they don't think much of their name. Whatever it is, we'll welcome the little person." Aimée's sardonic sense of humor had not abandoned her even as she faced her first delivery. The choice of the name Bertin was almost automatic, but the accompanying surname, Galles, was an unusual choice in this era. Perhaps it underlines that family's dominance, but more likely it expresses the depth of the loss they all felt. Interestingly, in his letter to Adèle after receiving news of Aimée's trouble-free childbirth, Eugène is thrown into a long reverie about his fallen brother, "my poor Bertin, friend of my youth, I can't think of him without weeping [and] can't convince myself that I will never see him again." We learn also that Bertin's death may have been a catalyst deepening their love, for it had been Adèle's "letters that truly consoled me, got me through that terrible time." So death, birth, and love intertwine across the sibling archipelago.

Eugène left Belle-Îsle for good on November 23, and after a long stay in Vannes, which, he said, "restored my soul" (letter of December 25 from Lorient), he headed to Châteaulin to see his new nephew—and his sister. On the thirtieth, he reported to Adèle that the seventeen-hour trip was enjoyable enough, thanks to the "very nice and pretty" Madame Guéret, with whom he was the "perfect chevalier." (This is not the last time that he tries to make her jealous.) The news they were all waiting for back home was good. "Aimée's *poupon* is very strong and doesn't appear to have suffered much from all those changes in wet nurses. But he is covered with a coloring [*humeur*] that

50. Eugène to Adèle, September 1 and 15, November 11, 1817, ADM, 2 J 79 (6).
51. The results of the family poll were reported in Eugène's letter to Adèle on September 15 (ibid.).

they attribute to the bad care he received at first." Little Bertin seems to have "l'air de son père" and is a big boy, already bursting out of the lovely white dress Françoise sent. "Our sister is doing splendidly," and Savantier seems the proper doting father. Altogether, Eugène found the home a happy one, perceiving none of the tensions his sister had earlier alluded to. Four days later, he responded to a letter from Adèle that had arrived in the interim. Typical, no doubt, of the insecurities fiancées always feel after things are finalized, she fretted about whether he found her letters "good," for he seemed "to regard them with indifference." Naturally he reassures her otherwise—but must have regretted mentioning Madame Guéret.

More troubling perhaps was the news that René Jollivet had not yet informed them that the necessary permissions from his superior officers had been secured so that they might proceed with wedding plans. As things stood now, Eugène was to report to Orléans on April 15 as a single man. Arrangements for married officers involved a carefully devised program of long-term leaves in peacetime, allowing them (usually) half the year with their families. Eugène thought that "the thing should be wrapped up by now. All these delays are not a good sign." He returned to Vannes to find that negotiations were still going on and final decisions would not be made until Papa Jollivet returned to Paris in March. Thus, more prenuptial tension, and Aunt Marie still miffed! Finally, however, all was resolved. The appropriate officers affixed their signatures on March 29, 1818, and Eugène was not to report to his post until early July. The marriage was scheduled for June.

In the eyes of the church, however, the wedding could not take place until one more detail was settled. They *were* cousins after all, and official doctrine still prohibited marriage between relatives out to the fourth degree, even if the Napoleonic Code was silent on the issue.[52] But no matter; in one of the most telling demonstrations of the casual acceptance of cousin marriage, of its secure place in the habitus of the nineteenth-century French bourgeoisie, General René Galles, the product of this union writing sixty-five years later, devotes all of eleven words to the issue: "Puis, on traita la question de dispense religieuse pour la parenté" (The question of the religious dispensation for kinship was then taken care of). It appears almost as an afterthought in the text, one of the several formalities to attend to before the event. "And so," writes René, "on Wednesday, June 10, 1818, Eugène Galles wed Adèle Jollivet."[53]

It was, of course, a major event in the social season of Vannes. The civil ceremony was presided over by Jean-Marie Galles, now, at the age of twenty-eight, the *premier adjoint de la Mairie* and therefore the chief officer of vital records for Vannes. The terms of the marriage contract illustrate the economic characteristics of cousin marriage. Adèle's dowry was 2,400 francs, a relatively modest sum for people at this social level, but not insulting either. It consisted of "liquid and landed assets that came from her mother," thus maintaining within the Galles-Jollivet family property brought in from the Marquers. Her dowry was to remain under her control (not included in the

52. The Code, for all its controls over married women, left virtually all other family matters to the private domain of the (male-dominated) family itself. On the Catholic Church's regulations, see especially David Warren Sabean, *Kinship in Neckarhausen, 1700–1870* (Cambridge, 1998), 63–89.

53. René Galles, "Journal," 1:15.

community of goods), then to be passed on to the couple's heirs. More important, Eugène Galles's *apport* comprised his inheritance from his mother (Adelaïde Jollivet) and his father. The sum was not given, but since his 10,000 franc share of the publishing house was excluded from the marital *communauté* under the next provision, it is certain that the bulk of this portion came from his mother and was therefore reconsolidated property that also might have been lost to the Jollivets. Finally, "as testimony of his *tendresse*, the future husband gives to the future wife, if she survives him, the usufruct of one-third of his landed estate [*biens fonds immobiliers*], whether his own or acquired, of which he will be the possessor and proprietor at the moment of his death." This compensated for the relatively small dowry (an income of only 600 francs annually), but was, after all, in part money from her own family.[54] It is easy to see why cousin marriage was tempting, from a financial point of view, for families that were already rather well off: although the potential for growth from an exogamous "advantageous marriage" (which the Galles had earlier enjoyed) was forgone, acquired assets were protected, and growth could occur through the hard work of a solidly established couple in cooperation with a loving and supportive family, above all one's brothers and sisters. Contracts in this region do not detail gifts, but we may rest assured that none of the signatories to either the contract or the marriage certificate would have bypassed the obligation to contribute to the future happiness of their beloved Adèle and Eugène.

Such results, as positive as they may have been in building the bourgeois elite of Vannes, should not necessarily be viewed as the consequence of a focused "strategy," an overworked word in kinship studies in any case. As I have tried to show, it is only by penetrating the inner world of family life that we can view the emotional elements of the habitus in which marital choices occur. That cousin marriage has economic and social consequences that contribute to bourgeois class consolidation and advancement arising from the bonds of sibling love does not mean that this new marital and kinship regime was somehow predetermined by class interest. We are by now well beyond such simplistic logic. The cultural sources of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century beliefs in which romantic love, itself rooted in incestuous desire, comes to animate family and kinship patterns of behavior have their own autonomy beyond the claims of socioeconomic forces. A multilayered revolution in values and attitudes toward gender and sex, the place of younger siblings and youth in general, the valuation of the couple, the notion of the self, and, more generally, the trend toward justice and equality having little specifically to do with one's material or social condition (though inevitably linked with it) gave impetus to the empire of love that underlay the new kinship universe. That it also resonated with the deployment of bourgeois social and economic power in the age of revolution undoubtedly contributed to its continuing place in modern life. One phenomenon was not caused by the other, but each enhanced the other's purchase in the "new regime."[55]

54. Copy of the Contrat de marriage chez Glais (June 4, 1818), ADM, 2 J 76.

55. Though used more narrowly here, the last is the felicitous phrase of Isser Woloch, *The New Regime: Transformations of the French Civic Order, 1789–1820* (New York, 1994), in assessing what changed with the Revolution. For a more detailed analysis of the problématique broached here, see Christopher H. Johnson

Cousin Marriage and the Political Integration of Vannes's Bourgeoisie

A fascinating insight arising from the examination of the list of witnesses and well-wishers at this pivotal wedding and others celebrated by our three families in the decade following is the *political* breadth of the circle represented. For what occurred was a process of political reconciliation by marriage. Kinship ties sometimes predating the Revolution, social intercourse among an increasingly self-conscious elite, and romantic attraction within a circumscribed bourgeois youth culture proved more powerful than past partisan antagonism.[56] In the town of Vannes, which had produced both valiant Chouans and solid revolutionaries, the Restoration witnessed the coalescence of a political and civic leadership that harmonized the center-right and the center-left (but not the extremes) of the revolutionary era. This intermingling was further enhanced, in later generations, by widespread consanguineal marriage.

An analysis of several of these families' marriages and the lists of witnesses and other signatories on the wedding documents will illustrate this theme.[57] Following revolutionary and imperial legislation, the official public certificate of marriage listed the full names of the bride and groom, their date and commune of birth, their current residences, and their titles or professions, as well as the names of their parents (whether living or dead), their parents' residences (by street, if local) and professions, an indication of their consent if either spouse was a minor (or, failing that, the consent of the closest ascendant relative), followed by a maximum of four official witnesses (*témoins*), with their names, ages, residences, professions, and familial relationship to the couple, if any (usually two for each). The Restoration also brought back the old regime pattern of identifying social standing of the participants (in the estimation of the mayor, formerly the priest) by a three-tiered designation of entitlement: Monsieur (Madame, Mademoiselle), le Sieur (la Dame, la Demoiselle), or none. Our protagonists all fell into the first category—a rarity for their antecedents before 1789 and a sure sign of social ascent. Following the signatures of the principals inscribed in the document—in this social world everyone except an occasional grandmother signed with typical upper-class flourish—came those of everyone attending the wedding considered by the families to be their intimates: all grandparents, uncles and aunts, and brothers and sisters as well as many cousins of the couple, along with close friends (and possibly some related more as patrons or clients). The lists would often go on

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"Siblinghood and the Emotional Dimensions of the New Kinship System, 1800–1850: A French Example," in Johnson and Sabean, *Sibling Relations*, 189–220. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York, 1990), 105–7, served as the starting point. For a more detailed theoretical discussion of these issues and the literature, see my discussion in the introduction, and Bibliographical Notes 5, 8, 9, and 10.

56. See the important argument on the cooling off of emotional heat (in politics and much more) during the Restoration and July Monarchy by William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge, 2001), 211–314. He does not deal with the role of kinship in the process.

57. For a more thorough discussion of Vannes's entire bourgeois elite in this regard, see Christopher H. Johnson, "Kinship, Civil Society, and Power in Nineteenth-Century Vannes," in *Kinship in Europe: Approaches to Long-Term Development (1300–1900)*, ed. David Warren Sabean, Simon Teuscher, and Jon Mathieu (New York, 2007), 258–83; and my discussion later in this chapter.

and on, with females as prominent as males, though women could not serve as official witnesses. Obviously, as researchers have long demonstrated, these are documents of immeasurable worth. When coupled with marriage contracts (usually signed just before the civil ceremony, sometimes with other signatories added), they open up the material and kinship worlds of French citizens. Although the use of marriage witnesses and signatories in studying lower-class kinship and friendship networks can sometimes be problematic,[58] upper-class weddings were highly orchestrated affairs with significant gifts from significant people, and we can be certain that these roles signified meaningful ties.

The list of witnesses and signatories at Adèle and Eugène's wedding is somewhat less interesting politically than several others, but it provides a good picture of their social universe. "Monsieur René Jollivet, ancien Avocat, Notaire Royale à Vannes et membre de la Chambre des Députés," the only living parent, consented for Adèle, while their mutual grandmother, "la Dame Jeanne Le Fraper, Veuve du Sieur Yves Jollivet, ayeule maternelle de l'Époux, présente et consentante, seule ascendante vivante," spoke for Eugène. Note that old regime mother and father and new regime son were given different titles. (Eugène and Adèle were "Monsieur" and "Mademoiselle" as well.) Witnesses (all "Monsieur") included Joachim Oillic, age seventy, "pharmacien et membre de la conseil municipal, rue de la Comédie" (not listed as a relative even though he was grandmother Jacquette Bertin Galles's cousin); Henry Jean-Baptiste Pavin, thirty-nine, "Percepteur des contributions directes, Place Louis XVIII" (he and Fanny had just moved to Vannes), "beau-frère de l'Époux"; Jean-Vincent Marquer, forty-nine, "Juge de Paix à Questembert, oncle maternelle de l'Épouse"; and Clement Marquer, thirty-five, "Notaire Royale à Vannes, aussi oncle maternelle de l'Épouse." Then came those only signing their names, who had to be deciphered and identified. Family above all: from the older generation there were (Jean-Marie) Le Ridant, Virginie (Danet) Le Ridant, Alexis's wife, and G(ertrude) Henry Kerdu (a dear friend of Adèle's mother, Chouan *griot*, and Savantier's aunt); then came all of the brothers (except Baptiste Jollivet) and sisters, four Galles and eight Jollivets, *cousine* M.-Y.-F(rançoise) Autissier, brother-in-law André Savantier, and (Thérèse) Jollivet née Hardy (a *cousine*). Two other signers were nonrelated noblemen who were major commercial clients (and patrons in the old sense) of the *notaires* in the family, Baron Dubot de Grégo and his brother-in-law the marquis (and General) de Bonté. Finally, there were people who signed the couple's contract but not the certificate: the Galles' tenants in Theix, Jean Ollié and his wife; and two female in-laws, Marie-Joseph Le Monnier née Le Ridant, Jean-Marie and Alexis's living sister, and a Marquer wife whose maiden name was Le Galliot and who was probably originally from Auray. There does not seem to have been a protocol regarding who signed what, and indeed

58. I did a great deal of this sort of analysis in studying working-class relationships in the textile town of Lodève (Hérault), and came to realize that many witnesses were simply people connected with the Mairie or other more notable (or at least literate) types. Still, it was possible to discover certain kinship patterns (or lack of them) and, by sorting out the repeated names of semiofficial witnesses, to come up with a decent snapshot of connections among workers. Christopher H. Johnson, *The Life and Death of Industrial Languedoc: The Politics of De-Industrialization* (Oxford, 1995), 95–117.

some lists are identical on both documents. Effectively, these names just enlarge the circle. Clearly family, not friends, dominated. Indeed, every one of the signers was somehow related except for the socially superior nobles and inferior Olliés, who nevertheless were "almost family," as we shall see, by obligation. The only surprise was the absence of Aunt Marie's name; she may have still been upset, though her husband's central place points to another (unknown) reason.

The important messages, from a political perspective, are delivered by the various indirect relatives and in-laws who dot this list. The net surrounding Adèle and Eugène's attendants drifts out to the right—indeed to Chouans and émigrés in the persons of the Le Ridants, the Marquers, and Dubot de Grégo—but also to the left with the first-witness role of Oillic, himself a moderate royalist, but whose brother and sister were active in the moderate republican camp during the Revolution. Moreover, Thérèse Hardy Jollivet was the niece of Pierre Le Hardy, a representative from the district to the Convention and an anti-regicide and Catholic republican ultimately guillotined as a Girondin, crying, "Vive la République!" as he went to his death. His renown was sealed by two lines from his Convention speeches: "Without bishops, the Republic will be lost," a prophetic reference to the disastrous consequences of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, and "The unhappy history of all peoples teaches us that the death of kings is never useful to liberty." Such sentiments could rest easily in the minds of the Galles, whose sympathy for the ideas of La Harpe, both as enlightened, indeed Voltairian, thinker and as critic of the Revolution, has already been discussed. Farther to the left was the deceased grandfather of Françoise Autissier, Jean-François, whom we met in chapter 3 as a confidant in things artistic, along with his friend Jamet, of Jean-Marc Galles. During the Revolution he become one of the more articulate members of the Société populaire, prominent enough to be nominated by the Jacobin Prieur de la Marne, who oversaw the Terror in Vannes, for membership on the district council. That he got the offer but turned it down identifies him politically as a person untainted by federalism without being a lockstep Jacobin. René Jollivet was godfather to Françoise; hence her place in his house after she was orphaned. Autissier also cemented the "family" connection with Dubot de Grégo, for the kindly schoolmaster had raised Dubot de Grégo's bastard son during the 1770s and 1780s. He was rewarded when Dubot de Grégo agreed to be godfather to Autissier's last child, who was only a few years older than his granddaughter Françoise. Autissier's history illustrates how porous political lines could be when softened by family, personal, or intellectual ties.[59]

If Adèle and Eugène's guest list did not vibrate with political tolerance (royalism certainly remained the dominant tone), many of the other weddings of the era did. In fact, the real breakthrough had already occurred when Alexis Le Ridant married Virginie Danet. We have already met the Danet clan. Jean-Joseph, Virginie's father, was a fabled figure in Vannes, possibly the most successful of all the arriviste *négociants* (he was a grain merchant) of the eighteenth century, who, like many of his ilk across the nation, embraced a revolution that seemed to promise social and political power commensurate with their economic accomplishments. Before 1789 he had been

59. Frélaut, *Les Bleus*, 159–60 (Le Hardy), 108–10 (Autissier), 140–42 (Jamet).

a member, like Marc Galles, of the town's commercial tribunal and the financial officer (*fabrique*) of the cathedral, but the Revolution made his career. Having been a delegate for the Third Estate to the regional gathering of patriots in Nantes in July 1789, he went on to become president of Vannes's first club, the Amis de la Constitution, in September 1791 and a member of the departmental Directory, posts he held until Prieur's roundup of "federalists." Like the others, he survived and catapulted to a stellar career, becoming, successively, president of the Council of Administration for the department, then member of the national Conseil des Anciens under the Directory, a leading voice in support of 18 Brumaire, deputy to the Corps législatif, and finally, in a perfect merger of political good behavior and financial well-being, chief tax collector for the Morbihan until passing the post to his ill-fated son in 1810. Naturally he was a steadfast opponent of the Chouannerie in its various forms and had even felt the sting directly when one of his several *métairies* was pillaged by royalist rebels in 1799. One would assume that he might think twice before marrying off his daughter to the brother of not one but two Chouan heroes. This was, however, 1811, when the smart money was beginning to have doubts about the emperor's agenda. And indeed, marriage witness Jean-Marie Le Ridant, now a colonel in the imperial army, would soon be sent off to Ham prison for his refusal to fight in the eastern campaign. René Jollivet, another witness, had long since made his profitable peace with the Empire, though in the next three years he would position himself to emerge, as we have seen, as the leading voice of moderate royalism in the department. Besides her uncle Julian Danet, Germain Morand, her elder sister Anne-Marie's husband, witnessed for Virginie Danet. No evidence that he was politically active has been uncovered, but Morand was a wealthy *négociant* (an elector under the Charter) and in his later years became a prominent member of the Société polymathique du Morbihan and the first director of the departmental archives. What he lacked in political involvement he made up for in civic duty and developed a close friendship with Jean-Marie Galles, who became the soul of Vannes's learned society.[60]

A third daughter of Jean-Joseph Danet, Marie-Françoise, had married Pierre-Jean Le Bouhéllec in 1798. Their daughter Julienne would marry René Jollivet's son René in 1831. Like Danet *ainé*, Le Bouhéllec shone brightly in the republican firmament. *Avocat, notaire*, and son of a *notaire* from Bignan, born in 1763, he became an ardent revolutionary after 1789, signing on as a *dragon volontaire* in Lorient the following year. Named *accusateur public* for the district court at Pontivy in 1791, he participated in the Société des Amis de la Constitution of that city. He was appointed regional administrator, but after the purge of the Girondists, he soon became tainted with federalism and, with Danet, sat out the Terror in jail. Like his colleague, Le Bouhéllec reemerged as an official, first in Vannes, then (while also working as a *notaire* and buying land) at Locminé—where he too felt the Chouan wrath in 1799. Indeed, as president of the municipal administration, he was the key captive after Locminé fell to the rebels in October. More valuable alive than dead, he was ransomed for a tidy 10,000 francs. Bonaparte's rise served him well as Le Bouhéllec gained appointments as both

60. Ibid., 199–203; ADM, 3 M 42.

a *conseiller de la Préfecture* and judge of the court of first instance while he parlayed his landed holdings into more, doubling his income during the Empire to become one of Vannes's richest men, remaining a thousand-plus elector during the Restoration. Although his republican-Bonapartist background (he was in fact elected deputy to the brief Chambre des Représentants created under the Acte Additionel of 1815) initially kept him out of office, Le Bouhéllec remained active in the city's intellectual life as a Freemason (he, again along with Danet, was a charter member of the local *loge* in 1803), and gained an appointment as a city councilor in 1825. With the July Monarchy, like so many of his political persuasion across the nation, he returned to high office as one of five *conseillers de la Préfecture* (along with Jean-Marie Galles), a post he held until his death in 1838. If his daughter Julienne married to the right in marrying René Jollivet II, his son Jean-Marie wed into a solid (moderate) pro-revolutionary family, the Bourdonnays, in 1825. Jean-Marie Le Bouhéllec's bride was Aurélie, whose grandfather had been mayor of Pontivy at the beginning of the Revolution but was displaced in 1791, and whose father, a very wealthy landowner in and around Vannes, would become the first mayor of the city after the July Revolution. Le Bouhéllec senior would lose his bid to become deputy to the new post-July Chamber of Deputies to none other than Jean-Marie Le Ridant, who, if not exactly a relative, was part of a growing kinship network in which royalists of various stripes mixed with republicans and Bonapartists to form the city's (and region's) political and civic elite.

Gatherings of family members may have witnessed spirited political debate, but their children played together and, in their turn, would continue to intermarry.

Let us now turn to two marriages, both occurring in 1822, that underscore more fully the phenomenon of sociopolitical integration through marriage.

The first was that of Jean-Marie Galles to Marie-Josèphe (Joséphine) Le Monnier, age twenty, celebrated on January 16. The Le Monniers, Galles, Jollivets, and Le Ridants went back a long way, as we have seen in examining prerevolutionary kinship ties.[61] Joseph Le Monnier, a *rentier*, now age fifty, and the bride's uncle, appears several times in the Galles family correspondence as a grumpy defender of the emperor but a regular at Pont-Sal. The signatories for the marriage and its contract included most of those attending Adèle and Eugène, along with a list of people who had formed the very heart of the moderate republican movement during the Revolution. The one figure who links everyone by both politics and blood was Marie-Josèphe Le Monnier née Le Ridant, the colonel's sister and the aunt of the bride. She was also the aunt of the first three Jollivet sons. Her husband, Joseph, was the son (b. 1771) of Sébastien Le Monnier, who had been a member of Vannes's first revolutionary municipal council in 1790, but was later accused of encouraging peasants in nearby Theix to rise up against the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Like the Galles and the Jollivets, therefore, he believed that constitutional monarchy under a declaration of rights certainly ought to include the right to be a Roman Catholic. Joseph's elder brother, the bride's deceased father, Mathurin Le Monnier, was an infantry captain in the Royal Army who would fight for the tricolor in 1792 and beyond—and was listed as a member of the

61. See chapter 3.

republican Société populaire in 1794. Her mother, Thérèse-Marguerite, was a member of the famous Jamet family, moderate republicans, then Bonapartists, but above all civic servants and cultural leaders in Vannes. As discussed earlier, Thérèse's father had been a friend and art teacher of the Autissiers, young Françoise's family.

Five other Galles–Le Monnier signatories had also been active in revolutionary politics as moderate and Thermidorian republicans: Jourdan, Ledet, Chalmel, Pradier, and Housset. The couple's first witness, Jean-Pierre Jourdan, then fifty-eight and a lawyer, was the bride's uncle by his first marriage to Marie-Euphrasine Jamet. He was linked before the Revolution to the Galles through the Oillics (he was a godbrother of Joachim), became a republican activist only in Year II, and, though not a Jacobin, avoided jail under the federalist roundup. Jourdan served on the municipal council in 1795–96 and later received a variety of judicial appointments. Clearly in the Bonapartist camp, he returned to private practice after 1815, which supplemented his landed income. Although not in the grand notable category, in 1819 he paid 352 francs in taxes, making him a comfortable member of the electoral college. All the others on the list of witnesses and signers of either the marriage certificate or the contract were, with the exception of René Jollivet, revolutionaries who nevertheless now in 1822 occupied appointive or elective offices, joining Pierre-Jean Le Bouhéllec, the republican tie to the Le Ridants. Joachim Oillic served on the municipal council, as did Louis-César Pradier, thirty-seven, who married into the prominent moderate republican family the Mahés (de Villeneuve), and was *secrétaire des hospices* (and a cousin to both Jamet and Jourdan). Joseph Housset, fifty-one, a revolutionary *clubiste* and a *juge de paix*, lost in his first bid for the city council to Alexis Le Ridant. Joseph Le Det, a *contrôleur des douanes* and the entrée for the Jamet sons into that agency, did not occupy electoral office but was a holdover *douannier* from revolutionary times. The furthest left, Jean-Marie Chalmel, had been a member of the Committee of Surveillance appointed by Terrorist Prieur de la Marne after he had arrested the previous committee, all accused of federalism. He was also a Freemason, though so too was Jean-Marie Galles. All of these men had long-standing bonds, having been signatories at the Jourdan-Jamet wedding of 1794 as well as witnesses to Autissier and Jamet births before the Revolution.

Although Jean-Marie Galles and Mademoiselle Le Monnier were not related biologically, through their mutual aunt their families interwove in many other ways. Their marriage reveals a range of friendship and kinship spreading widely across the political spectrum. As we shall see, all of these people and their descendants rode the political waves affecting the rest of the century with ease.

Yves Joseph Jollivet, Adèle's brother ("Yvon" in her correspondence), married in April 1822. The event represented further political cross-pollination. Louise-Adèle Zuma Kerviche, his bride, was the twenty-year-old niece of Jean-Pierre Kerviche, a key figure during the most difficult years of the Revolution. Her father, Jean-Louis, does not seem to have been politically active, but participated in the purchase of *biens nationaux* in a major way. Her mother was a Duchêne, a family with members who had witnessed Le Monnier and Le Ridant births in the eighteenth century. Witnesses included Joseph Le Monnier and Alexis Le Ridant, Yves's uncles (Le Monnier was also Yves's godfather), the one politically in the Bonapartist camp, the other a mod-

erate royalist. Witnesses on the bride's side were François Luchot de la Thibaudais, fifty-one, an engineer with Ponts et Chaussées, whose distinguished career spanned four regimes from 1796 to the 1830s (he was currently *ingénieur-en-chef* for the department and a neighbor of the Kerviches), and the ubiquitous Pierre-Jean Le Bouhéllec. Jean-Pierre Kerviche, who signed the couple's contract, made the transition to the Restoration; he was now president of the Tribunal du Commerce (he was a grain merchant, like the Danets), and, like Chalmel (also a signatory at this wedding), had served with courage during the late Terror, but was not purged thereafter. His populist rhetoric and dedication (on several occasions during the post-Thermidor period he called for more meetings of the municipality and chastised colleagues for poor attendance) won him wide support. Kerviche refused a nomination to be the local *commissaire de police* in 1795 but accepted the position three years later. During the Empire he supported the moderate revolutionary and ardent Bonapartist Mahé de Villeneuve, longtime mayor of the city. The Kerviche connection brings to the table—in this milieu, quite literally—an uncle who had proudly spoken the language of the sansculottes, did not shrink from duty on behalf of the *gouvernement révolutionnaire* as well as its aftermath, faced the Quiberon invasion, and then dutifully served Bonaparte. Alexis Le Ridant, the pioneer in cross-political marriages, was one of four official witnesses. A new world of power—bourgeois power unalloyed by serious political distinctions—was on the rise.

I have briefly examined the ways that key persons in other families were linked with the Galles–Jollivet–Le Ridant kin group during and after the Revolution, noting the complexity and political fluidity of their ties. This task would have been impossible without the pathbreaking research and splendid lists produced by Bertrand Frélaut in his book *Les Bleus de Vannes, 1791–1796*.[62] My argument, however, is in some ways a response, or perhaps better put a friendly amendment, to Frélaut's. His subtitle, "an urban elite during the Revolution," alerts us to his point. In a world where tales of the Chouans still resonate and the Republic remains suspect to a vocal *bretonniste* minority, Frélaut, democrat and pro-revolutionary much like many of his predecessors as professors in the lycées of Brittany, views this "Blue" leadership (that is,

62. His book is a meticulously researched prosopography of all the leading members of the Club révolutionnaire de Vannes and the political leaders of the city during the French Revolution as well as most of their antecedents and descendants, thus creating a remarkable genealogical record of much of the left-leaning elite of the city. Frélaut's index allows one to follow families and their interconnections in great depth. His study complements my own pursuit of my families and their connections in the royalist world. I have prepared profiles of all the principal actors (left and right) and genealogies of their families (416 surnames, 1,042 individuals), utilizing the *état civil* records of Vannes (ADM, 4 E 260, now mostly on microfilm), focusing on the 10 percent of the population designated by the highest social status ("Monsieur" etc.) from 1804 to 1848 in these records. Marriages, of course, provided the most information, but birth and death certificates for many of the families closest to mine have also been examined. The social homogeneity and increasing kinship ties of all the assembled is the striking fact. Economic status and political prominence, measured by tax lists and a full set of appointive and elective officeholders, confirm the elite status of our protagonists. See ADM, 3 M 25 (1834 and 1837 *cens* lists for municipal elections) and the *Annuaire du Morbihan*, 1833–1848. All the foregoing discussion of growing political integration of the Vannes elite via kinship in based on these sources. An earlier article introduced the questions pursued here: Johnson, "Kinship, Civil Society, and Power in Nineteenth-Century Vannes," 258–83.

pro-revolutionary as opposed to the "White" of counterrevolution) as the progenitors of Vannes's social and political elite who gave the city its moderate, "radical" republican leadership of the Third Republic: "It looks as if this municipal radicalism of the Third Republic may be considered the ultimate heritage of the activist minority, the Blues, who comprised the militants in Vannes during the Revolution."[63] The process, in this version, thus appears as a last laugh of the Revolution.

Frélaut has reconstructed many of the matrimonial ties linking these families through the nineteenth century. But he fails to account for the dozens of names on his lists that in fact were anti-revolutionary, some rather quietly, such as Marc Galles and René Jollivet, others vehemently so, such as Jean-Marie Le Ridant, their brother-in-law. These people and their descendants were royalists. They celebrated the heroism of the invaders of Quiberon. Adèle Jollivet Galles will be thrilled when her child is kissed by the duchesse de Berry during her tour of Brittany in 1831. But they also had among their closest friends and relatives—and would choose for marriage partners during the most royalist of times during the Restoration—people from the pro-revolutionary camp. Thus certain sociocultural ties and mutual values of civic responsibility seem to have overridden the divisions of politics. Deeper kin connections, creating a wide network of cousinship, and hence, in that age, the pull of loving blood ties drawing people together in "society," contributed to the mix as well. The Galles and Jollivets had lively dinner conversations with Danets, Jamets, Jourdans, Kerviches, and Le Bouhéllecs. But René Jollivet *was* the deputy from Vannes and would be followed in the late twenties by Le Ridant (who would also be a hero of Algiers in 1830). Political differences could be remolded along lines of reconciliation, especially if civic concerns, equal social standing and similar economic interests, and the ties of family relationship were taken into account.

The next generation had already begun to make a quiet ideological accommodation toward the left. Jean-Marie Galles and Yves Jollivet both joined the Masonic lodge of Vannes in 1816. La Loge de la Philanthropie et des Arts had received its charter from the Grand Orient de France in 1801 at a time when Napoléon promoted the Franc-Maçons. Its membership was dominated by moderate revolutionaries become Bonapartists, many of them local officials. It served mainly as the city's elite social club, boasting quite a fine house on the port as its temple. Interestingly, the regime change of 1815 did not significantly alter its membership, except for the departure of non-local bureaucrats and military personnel. But they were increasingly replaced by men of the moderate right like Galles and Jollivet. Their Catholicism, rationalist in any case, did not stand in their way. Slowly (former) Bonapartists and royalists merged as Masonic brothers just as they were merging through marriage.[64]

Jean-Marie Galles, the eldest of the Galles siblings, was probably the pivotal figure in the integration of a kind of vacillating center in Vannes's municipal life, but

63. Frélaut, *Les Bleus*, 290.

64. See Michelle Le Fahler, *Recherche de documents maçonnique dans le Morbihan aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles*, Mémoire de Maitrise (Rennes, 1976); Yannic Rome, *La Franc-Maçonnerie à Vannes, Auray, Belle-Isle, Ploërmel au XVIIIe et XIXe siècles* (Vannes, n.d. [1985?]); Daniel Ligou, ed., *Histoire des Francs-Maçons en France de 1815 à nos jours* (Paris, 2000). See Sudhir Hazareesingh and Vincent Wright, *Francs-Maçons sous le Second Empire* (Rennes, 2001), 13–37, for a reassessment of the Francs-Maçons' political significance.

his cousin and sister-in-law Adèle, along with her married cousins, would spawn and raise children who allowed such inter-factional ties to proliferate. And Adèle rather summed things up in a letter to Eugène later on when she reported on a big soirée hosted by the *préfect de Chazelles*: "There were a hundred people and the places at the table were passed out at random at the beginning of the meal, Liberal and Ultra side by side; but true Bretons, wine brought them together and everything went gaily."[65] What really united all, whatever their political backgrounds, were comfortable economic situations, enhanced by significant purchase of nationalized church and émigré lands during the Revolution and Empire; ongoing, often intrafamilial real estate transactions thereafter; and, above all, a dedication to civic improvement, government service, and cultural advancement. In short, these people, led by the Galles-Jollivet nexus on the center-right and the Jamet-Jourdan on the center-left, became Vannes's *political class* (and it would ramify far beyond their little city), whose composition was bourgeois in origin and continuation and whose power depended significantly on the integration through their kinship grid not only of their economic interests but of their political values as well. Although individuals might remain Catholic royalists or anticlerical republicans, the direction of their politics as a group was centripetal, forming "loyal oppositions" and trading offices over the decades. And who would not agree, in the France of the early twenty-first century, that this is the way of modern politics?

The first steps toward the consolidation of bourgeois power, in this example, occur *after* comfortable economic status has been achieved. Marriage is largely among economic equals within a field that runs from the well-off to the truly wealthy, and its consequences serve generally to consolidate rather than to enhance economic power, though each new generation is expected to achieve at a higher level than the previous one. Similar social status, eminent respectability with a whole set of values and mores defining a single habitus, seems the more fundamental variable. But it is in the realm of political power and civic authority that integration through marriage among people who have socialized since childhood, often because their families were already related through a vast sibling-cousin archipelago, makes the most difference. And in this, I would argue, we pierce to the very heart of the meaning of *la France bourgeoise*.

65. Adèle Jollivet Galles to Eugène Galles, July 23, 1819, ADM, 2 J 79 (1).

CHAPTER FIVE

"Mon Adèle"

The marriage of cousins Adèle Jollivet and Eugène Galles illustrates a number of points that throw into doubt certain received ideas about "bourgeois marriage" in nineteenth-century France while supporting others. The depth of this analysis is due to its base in a remarkable volume of some 258 letters between the two of them and forty-two more from other family members in a span of seven years.[1] The pattern of the couple's correspondence mirrors Eugène's time with his regiment, which moved about "in a senseless manner" (according to their son, the general),[2] thus lasting at each stage about four to six months, depending on military circumstances. They wrote on the average two letters each per week, though there are significant gaps in the material that has been saved. Few exist for the year 1821 and none at all for 1822. As I already emphasized in the introduction, it must be understood that "letters are not usually or always transparent statements of feeling. People represent themselves to the other as they wish to be seen, as they want to be recognized. Letters construct a persona as much as they express one." The following narrative and analysis—and indeed similar discussions throughout this book—should be viewed from this perspective, beautifully articulated by Joan Wallach Scott.[3]

Fulfillment and the Firstborn

Although it should come as no surprise, Eugène and Adèle's correspondence in the first years of their marriage reveals deep love at all levels. Their physical attraction was obviously very strong, though they couch their feelings largely in allegorical language. We must believe that Eugène had sexual experience during his active military days (recall the rumor that he attracted young women as he did bullets), and in this was little different from his contemporaries. In the most detailed examination of this issue, *La discipline de l'amour*, Gabrielle Houbre argues that the culture of the early nineteenth century encouraged sexual experimentation for young middle-class males

1. The relevant boxes are ADM, 2 J 79 and 80. This number and the variety of subject matter, much of it intimate, compares favorably with the correspondence utilized in the only other similar study from the revolutionary age in France, Anne Verjus and Denise Davidson, *Le roman conjugal: Chroniques de la vie familiale à époque de la Révolution et de l'Empire* (Seyssel, 2011).
2. René Galles, "Journal," 1:16.
3. Personal communication to the author.

while banning it for women of the same class. Adèle apparently had one suitor before Eugène, for in a letter to her in 1820, Cécile Galles mentions meeting "ton amant de néant" (your failed suitor) at the wedding of the young man's brother in Auray. It has been impossible to identify him, though the relationship was serious enough for Cécile to write: "He gave me a heartfelt greeting. I was more than a little flattered that this *chevalier* who appreciated your merit did not disdain my own."[4] But there can be little doubt that Eugène was Adèle's first sexual partner. Was she a virgin when they married? If so, their relationship turned out to be an instant success, at least to judge from the first post-wedding letters. In northern France, engagement often allowed greater sexual intimacy, even within the bourgeoisie, and Eugène and Adèle had ample opportunity to see each other on a daily basis after the Belle-Îsle base closed down; she had also visited him there at least once beforehand. Cousins had a good deal more freedom from the usual chaperoned courtship than non-relatives, perhaps another reason why close marriage became so popular in the more restrictive nineteenth century. But there is good evidence that this couple did indeed wait until their wedding night. Eugène, in giving her the definitive date of his return from his first "semester" at his posting (December 7, 1818), said that he had written it on his calendar next to June 10: "I will taste on the seventh the happiness that I did not know until the tenth."

Although there is growing documentation of loving relationships between husband and wife in the first half of the nineteenth century, even for France, the dominant image of bourgeois marriage bequeathed by Sand's *Indiana* or Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* of the nuptial meat market and unfulfilled wives persists. There is no way of knowing how typical the marriage of Adèle and Eugène was, but it certainly provides a striking counterexample and can be complemented by many others, though few in such detail.[5]

After a month together following their wedding spent in Vannes and Pont-Sal, Eugène had to report for duty in Orléans. He went by way of Nantes, where, as he said to her in his first letter on July 11, he assuaged his anger at "not having spent the last 24 hours close to you" by visiting mutual friends, including "your old music teacher," Mademoiselle Gros. Eugène then launched into a long disquisition on their only source of happiness now, letters, concluding: "Your letters alone will console me in our separation, which I hope will not be too long. Your Eugène has already suffered too much." He closed in grand (and telling) fashion: "Adieu, mon Adèle bien aimée, ton Eugène t'embrasse bien tendrement et est lié à toi pour toute sa vie. Adieu encore une fois, mon Adèle; pense à moi et aime-moi toujours comme je t'aime." And he signed "Ton frère et ton mari." On July 21, 1818, her first letter to him arrives (hers in this period have not survived) and he greets it with rapture: "With what joy I kissed your cherished letter when I saw the name that you took, written in your own hand, out of love for me. My Adèle is no longer my *cousine* and friend as she was in her ear-

4. Gabrielle Houbre, *Le discipline de l'amour: L'éducation sentimentale des filles et des garçons à l'âge du romanticisme* (Paris, 1997), especially chaps. 3 and 4; Cécile to Adèle, August 25, 1820, ADM, 2 J 79 (3).

5. Verjus and Davidson's *Roman conjugal* is the richest, but see Bibliographical Notes 8 and 10.

lier letters that had then made me so happy, but my beloved wife, my adored wife. . . . My soul is entirely bound up in you."[6]

On the one hand, Eugène is fully conscious of the transition they have made, specifically articulating their new status as lovers, husband and wife, and that cousinship should be left behind. On the other hand, he had signed his first letter to her "your brother and husband," thus emphasizing a greater intimacy that explicitly links the two statuses. He also remarks that it is now only through her that he relates to all their relatives. As a couple, they become the nucleus of their sibling-studded universe, which, because of their consanguinity, has not altered dramatically from when they were single. In other words, problems with the in-laws—always a strain in most marriages—were ruled out almost by definition. Certainly brothers and sisters of the older generation could have their differences (and the equal-inheritance rules of revolutionary legislation especially gave rise to them),[7] but when one can speak literally of "our" aunts, uncles, and grandparents, and her father is his mother's brother in an age when sibling ties are so obviously close, cousin marriage would drastically reduce their significance. Indeed, it may well be that close marriage in France (and other states that instituted equal inheritance) was given extra stimulus as a means of toning down sibling conflict over succession.

But relatives were not much on Eugène's mind at this point. Although he fills Adèle in on all the details of his life as an officer (she had asked to know "everything"), he much prefers to speak to her of love. Even in describing his routine, he can't get her out of his mind: "I'm always up at seven—much more sensible than in Vannes and with good reason [*pour cause*]." He woke up on July 31 thinking about her and imagines her there close to him. But thoughts and letters (which he reads again and again) are far from those actual moments "so delicious, when your lover passed into your arms." When they are together again, he will spend every instant with her, "to cherish you, to adore you. I want us to isolate ourselves from the entire world, to see only you, concern myself only for you, to live only for you. Before you gave yourself to me, my darling wife, I thought I loved as much as it was possible to love. But since the happy day when my entire soul was united with yours, each moment, my Adèle, each minute adds to my love. *Je t'adore*!" Virtually all his letters then and later carry messages of love that similarly mingle the physical and the spiritual, and we will come back to them in various contexts.

Her letters reveal the same passion, though given her situation as his main correspondent about all the doings of family, town, and politics, they perhaps occupy less space. Typical is her first letter after his departure for his second "semester" in Orléans (March 28, 1819):

> It's two long nights and one day since you left me, my beloved—how many more I must endure until your return! I can't begin to express the sadness that

6. Eugène Galles to Adèle Jollivet Galles, July 21, 1818, ADM, 2 J 79 (1). Unless otherwise noted, all references to their letters will be to this location (his to her) and 2 J 79 (2) (hers to him). They are ordered chronologically, and their dates are identified in the text, thus avoiding endless footnotes.

7. Suzanne Desan, *The Family on Trial in Revolutionary France* (Berkeley, 2004), especially chap. 4.

> I experienced at the moment you had to leave as I entered this little bedroom where, my friend, I have passed such sweet moments, where waking up was always so happy! I must have all my powers of reason in tow right now: but I also needed to unburden my heart, my tears which until then I had held back flowed in abundance, and I found some consolation here in our room. I went to sleep quite late and waking up in the night my first movement was to search for your dear hand. I would find it no more, my Eugène, and then calculated how much time I must endure without holding it, without kissing it a thousand times.

Adèle also found consolation when she went "regularly to our little bastion [on the city walls]. I take those hundred steps sadly because I'm no longer on the arm of my friend and have no fear that from a window someone will see me give you a sweet kiss. With what pleasure I water the flowers that you watered such a short time ago" (April 4, 1819). The second separation was worse than the first because, she said, they had become so used to living together. At the top of the letter, which of course filled every available inch of the page and overleaf, she scratched this note: "I send you two violets that I have picked for you and have kissed. . . . A married woman of ten months! Who would have believed it? Adieu again, my dear angel."

And how will she hold on to her "reason"? "I will find it in the idea that it is necessary to the conservation of the dear being that you have confided to me. Yes, for our child. What if I were not pregnant? Then there would be no consolation." And so let us move on to the fruit of their love and to letters that reveal rare insight into the deepest recesses of what the "child-centered" family meant in the early nineteenth century. The most striking point to emerge is the breadth and depth of Eugène's concern for, involvement in, and knowledge of the life of his unborn child and the ways he connected his love for Adèle with his love for the baby.

A small calculation will show that this was not, however, a baby conceived around their wedding time. For the main drama of the first months of their separated married lives was a pregnancy that miscarried (or was false). Adèle had written in late July 1818 (six weeks after their wedding) that she "might be pregnant," and in the same amorous letter of July 31 quoted earlier he becomes even more ecstatic, for his "blood churns" at the thought of holding "in my arms my wife *and* my child! Oh great God! But isn't it too much to hope? Aren't I already happy enough to possess my Adèle? This is the supreme happiness for me and since my Adèle has been willing to give herself to me, what other happiness might I hope for? I will love, I will cherish my children, but their embraces will not evoke the same sweet sensations as yours for which I will always thirst for more. . . . You will always fulfill my soul." Eugène's passion is given added stimulus by her news, and he is overjoyed at the prospect that they have made a child together. But he avoids overdoing it, underlining that she, children or no, lies at the center of his universe. To worship them both, however, would be perfection. On September 9 he writes, "Never will my Adèle be more appealing, more lovable to my eyes than when she will give her breast to my child and her sweet lips to her happy Eugène." This vision of domestic bliss worthy of Greuze also reveals a

male attitude that associates sexual attraction and child nurturing directly, a theme developed by Ruth Perry.[8]

A man of his era, Eugène firmly believed in the breast-feeding mother as opposed to the use of wet nurses. Aimée's little Bertin remained rather sickly through his first year, and the family attributed it to his early wet-nursing (even though the nurse lived in). On August 21 Eugène writes a letter to Adèle full of advice, first about the proper medicine for a rash she has contracted and believes to be caused by her pregnancy, and then: "There's no doubt, my beloved, that I will be very pleased to see you breast-feed our dear child as long as I am well assured that no harm will come to you. It is just as you say, the most beautiful prerogative of a mother, and I love that you have these feelings, which are those of *une bonne femme*." A few days later the expectant papa reports on research that he has done with the garrison physician about travel for pregnant mothers. Conclusion: travel in the early months, "before nature has taken its course," can be harmful, especially for a first pregnancy. In the later months, except the last, problems are rare. This was in line with current opinion on the question.

Eugène quickly moved into the role of father. He had been able to make a brief trip home late in August. Adèle had written just before he left Orléans that she was not absolutely sure that she was pregnant and felt a bit sheepish that she had not yet seen Dr. Lorvol. (This is an interesting insight into the tension around the issue in the days before pregnancy tests.) But by the time he was in Vannes, she was more certain. They had already discussed the sex of the baby, each imagining his or her own. His first letter upon his return (September 2) was upbeat. He had been rather "out of sorts" his last day home, but she forgave him, and a "few caresses" made their parting a happy one. Now he is tucked away in his "wretched room," but her lock of hair consoles him. (The soft brunette strands remain in the letter to this day.) Adèle had not yet told her father that she was expecting, and Eugène wonders why.

> This news would be most pleasing to him since it further consolidates the union and the happiness of his children [meaning the two of them]. Perhaps you're hesitant because you don't want to take the lead over your sister-in-law. Do you know if François also has the hope of becoming a papa? I certainly desire it for him and hope that his children will have as good a mother as my Adèle will be, but it appears to me not to be the case. It is true that I do not know her well. How did she seem to you during her last visit?

It is unclear why Eugène bore this negative attitude toward Eugénie Adèle Castelot Jollivet, but it may have reflected the fact that she and François were childless after three years of marriage—despite his firm establishment as the *sous-préfet* at Lorient. This is the same letter in which Eugène analyzes Bertin Savantier's problems as a consequence of wet-nursing and again encourages Adèle. If she stays healthy, "we shall

8. Ruth Perry, "Colonizing the Breast: Sexuality and Maternity in Eighteenth-Century England," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 2, no. 2 (October 1991): 204–35.

have nothing to fear. You will certainly have trouble, *ma bonne chérie*, but your tenderness for your child will bring you still more joy, and when the dear child becomes old enough to express emotions [*en état de sentir*], he will repay you with his love for all the difficulties he caused you." It should be remembered that this is a young man of twenty-three. His knowledge of the anxieties and physical strain of breast-feeding—as well as his stand on the issue—are quite mature.

The bad news came on September 11. Eugène's response tells us what has happened: "It is not that rare for pregnant women to still have their period [he has been studying!]; you may just be momentarily fatigued." But, he adds immediately, even if not, "our happiness will only be delayed." And who can tell: "You've had morning sickness and other symptoms, haven't you?" He is also heartsick that his letters about love and motherhood in fact did not reach her until after she "awoke on the sixth." But he ends the letter with his most poetic (and erotic) expression of love in this correspondence. "Nothing, my sweet lover [*amante*], can augment the happiness your Eugène will experience upon being with his adored Adèle once again. Soon, my love, soon I will taste that sweet happiness, I will devote all my days, all my instants to my wife whom I love a thousand times more than my life. Oh, *mon* Adèle, how happy will your lover be when you render yourself to him, when he experiences again that joy, whose privation is all the more powerful because it seems so fresh in his sensations." This torrid reassurance of her sex appeal undoubtedly touched Adèle deeply. We do not have her responses, but we do know that she kept bleeding and bleeding, perhaps completing a miscarriage. The word, however, is never uttered in his letters. She went for a long time without seeing the doctor, too, and must have been quite wretched. Finally, in her letter of September 30, she reports that she feels wonderful after a restorative trip to the Ridant family's beach house at Sarzeau. In his letter back, he describes how she must look, now that she is radiant again—"more beautiful than the ladies of the court of Francis I of Austria!"

Added to all to their woes, the inspection that was to occur in September, the prelude to his departure from this tour of duty, was being delayed again and again. Eugène does everything he can to remain cheery, reporting happenings, other correspondence, and his doings, sprinkled always with words of love. After describing a visit to a castle on the Loiret, he says that "my dear wife's good health means more to him than all the châteaux in the world." In mid-October there was a birthday ball in her honor. Eugène wants to know every detail—her dress, the food, and especially with whom she danced. "My Adèle, you may find many men more attractive than me, but not one will love you as I love you, not one will know how to value you as will your Eugène." Despite their longing for each other, their love had its playful side as well. In his long letter of October 30, he responds to her barbs about not writing often enough that he needs to sleep sometime. But he has an idea. "Well, if you want me to prove to you that I don't need much sleep, when I'm back in Vannes, I'll spend all my nights, yes, all my nights, writing my friends. I'm so behind in my correspondence with them because since I came to Orléans, I only post letters to the address of a *petite dame* who beseeches me not to forget to think of her often and to love her half as much as she loves me." Adèle had also reported with some jealousy that Aimée was pregnant again. Eugène—always with an opinion on women's health!—thought it

was too soon, since little Bertin was so demanding of her time. He then adds sweetly, and slightly irreverently: "And so" (as Adèle had said) "here's the family growing on all sides; it seems that everyone's gotten the word, except us. You say you're counting on Providence; I think that Providence will have nothing at all to do with it—I expect that we can do without it."

In this same letter of October 30, 1818, Eugène Galles reflected on life, love, family, class, and gender in a manner almost philosophical. He begins in thinking of his beloved sister:

> I can certainly believe that Aimée is bored at Châteaulin. She is so isolated. She has her husband close to her, but you know Savantier. I think that he has some affection for Aimée, but it has not crossed his mind that he should delight in his wife's presence and [not be] the first to tell her, day in and day out, that *he* is bored to death. I can believe it, because he doesn't do anything. Aimée, who might at least have commiserated with him if he had exhibited some contentment with her, no longer feels obliged to act like she's happy and they tire of each other's love. And you know Aimée's character: never having been apart from her own, she finds herself transplanted to a place where everything is foreign to her, including her husband.

Eugène's description of the interior life of an arranged marriage (one that had seemed at least palatable at the beginning) rings of *Madame Bovary*, though we can be certain that Aimée would not follow Emma's fateful path. The contrast with the intense happiness found by her cousin-siblings—which she rightly predicted—could not be stronger.

Eugène then proceeds to a discourse on "the world beyond one's own" and hopes Adèle will never have to face it. People are outwardly nice, but behind your back "look only for faults so that as soon as you make a friend, proof to the contrary is not long in coming; people no longer seem to have a taste for those gentle emotions that friendship makes one feel. One must withdraw into oneself, to say what one does not believe, to have the air of occupying oneself with one thing while thinking quite another, and *voilà la société*." His cynicism came from experience, but there is always the haven: "I believe that it is very important, for a man especially, to have lived from early on among strangers. He learns from experience to be duped no longer. He seeks his happiness among his own and limits himself to be correct [*honnête*] toward everyone else and useful when he can be so, not expecting to be paid in return. You may find me misanthropic, my good friend, but it's only too true that this is the way one must be in the world." The demands of the masculine ethos of "the world" thus strain the inner heart of true happiness: "I regard the greatest happiness that I may enjoy is to be able to live tranquilly with you in the midst of our family." Circumstances, of course, meant such a life would be only intermittent for them, which in fact was why he was so disgusted with Savantier.

Eugène provides a window on one of the central contradictions of bourgeois culture. The sibling-studded stratum of home and family, so productive of class consolidation both economically and politically, required a man—as young Eugène so amply

demonstrates—to value domesticity, indeed, to think "like a woman," be involved in all the details of the "private sphere," and find his deepest contentment in this curiously androgynous (but quite sexual) and rather egalitarian environment. But at the same time, he was to steel himself for the struggle outside, face its viciousness and hypocrisy "like a man," and contribute to the progress of "the world" in competition (though this word would be avoided) with other men—and be willing to fight to the death for something called "honor" (often of one's family) if need be. Work on masculinity in France by Robert Nye and William Reddy stressed these latter obligations of men, while assuming a nineteenth-century decline in the former, or finding male avowal of "hearth and home" to be hypocritical in an age of general combativeness. Eugène Galles, at any rate, seems to stand such an analysis on its head, and there is no logical reason to deny that both mentalities could coexist in dynamic, if anxiety-producing, relation to each other.[9]

Eugène finally returned to Vannes early in November 1818. We can imagine the emotions surrounding the newlyweds' reunion, but of course no letters exist. Their ardor clearly outweighed their sadness, for when their correspondence recommences in late March 1819, Adèle is pregnant and sure of it. On April 9 she notes that she has spoken to Madame Lorvol, the doctor's wife, who confirmed her belief that this one was for real. Delighted, she has also learned in a letter from her best (non-family) friend, Adèle Le Floch, that she too was two and one-half months pregnant. Now Madame Castelot, she had married François Jollivet's wife's brother, again underlining intricate connections among these elite families. Only Adele's letters to Eugène have survived for the next phase, and we now hear her voice. Her pregnancy did not totally preoccupy her thoughts—far from it, as we shall see—but her words provide fascinating material, direct from lived experience, on the discourse of motherhood in the early nineteenth century.

As it was with him, she mingles thoughts of her husband and her child. She "looks forward so much to when he will hold her and her precious burden [*fardeau*] together. I already know that this little being resembles you both physically and morally" (April 14). The following week, almost in a stream of consciousness, she describes to him her daydreams as she reads:

> I think of you, and I think of the dear being in my womb, and how much do these endless thoughts give rise to projects of castles in Spain, bringing me that much closer to you, my friend, for without that, no happiness; I make few visits,

9. See Robert A. Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France* (Berkeley, 1993); William Reddy, *The Invisible Code: Honor and Sentiment in Postrevolutionary France, 1814–1848* (Berkeley, 1997). Reddy's *Navigation* offers a more balanced perspective, noting the continuation of sentiment in the domestic sphere while underlining the cooling of emotional interaction in the public. Carol Harrison takes a more nuanced position on this issue, emphasizing "emulation" as the more acceptable form of masculine competition, in *The Bourgeois Citizen in Nineteenth-Century France: Gender, Sociability, and the Uses of Emulation* (Oxford, 1999). See also Anne Vincent-Buffault, *L'exercice de l'amitié: Pour une histoire des pratiques amicable aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles* (Paris, 1995), who argues that friendship does not have the same cultural depth and is less valued in the nineteenth century when compared to the age of Enlightenment except in utopian movements, while familial ties for males seem more significant.

> save indispensable ones, but I work and I read incessantly; when my needle goes poorly and my thoughts carry me to my Eugène, I pass pleasant moments. You often come to distract me while I'm reading; I'll sometimes read the same page over and over, and even when the book is interesting, I'll hurry to finish so I can think about our future. . . . I think about the upbringing of my child and try to envision raising her under my watchful eye, [never] far from her mother. What happiness we will experience, my friend, to occupy ourselves with our children and [to enhance] their virtuous inclinations! How we will smile at their caresses, at their tenderness, at their progress on the path of goodness [*dans le bien*]. Our relation with each other will serve as their model. And as you have said, I hope that they will be happier than we [as children] and that they will know the joy of having a mother who will devote to them, as to you, my Eugène, all the days that Providence will allow her.

The shadow of their childhood losses darkens this refrain of wife and mother, giving it greater power. Three important points here. First, Adèle swears to raise her child under her "watchful eye," not allowing "her" to be "far from her mother." She would of course keep her close to nurse, but takes a longer view of the child's education, in which the mother's role will be central. This reflects a tenet of the ideology of "republican motherhood," so widely analyzed from literary sources, but of course has nothing to do with republicanism, since these people are staunch Bourbon monarchists (especially Adèle). The second is the emphasis on the moral qualities of the child, her "virtuous inclinations" and "progress in the path of goodness." Finally, we see the use of *tendresse* in envisioning a child's relation to her parents and the notion that the couple's tenderness toward each other was the model for and virtually the same thing as child-parent feelings.[10] Eugène, of course, in his letters to "pregnant" Adèle the year before, swore the same intense dedication to his thoroughly integrated role as husband and father.

Adèle mentioned her "petit pacquet" in every letter as she grew and grew. During the early months, she was deliriously happy. "You have no idea of the delicious sentiments that come over me when I feel [the baby] move," she writes on May 14. She knows she's carrying a "hero because at the sound of a drum, I can feel him [in this letter, she talks about "your son"] rumble. Or perhaps a dancer, "unlike *M. son père*" (May 19). She is already saving for their little one's future. In commenting on her stepmother's too generous spending habits, Adèle remarks (May 14):

> You just don't know how all that sometimes gives me pause. I look at the little *bourse de ma fille*, I think of all the economies that we've had to make for her. I make a thousand little savings, and I am happy. Then I think, perhaps it will be her lot to lose her mother during her childhood. And you, my Eugène, will you forget your Adèle and all her saving? Oh no, I'm sure my daughter will help

10. On the rise of this concept and the notion of the "couple" in early modern literature, see Maurice Daumas, *La tendresse amoreuse, XVIe–XVIIIe siècles* (Paris, 1997), and Bibliographical Note 8.

> you remember. What's more, you know that before departing this life, I want to choose the woman who will succeed me. I said that the other day when laughing with some demoiselles, who said to me with a nervous air: Have you already chosen? I think they were hoping I'd thought of one of them, but I calmed them down, saying that I hadn't.

Although she was being cute (and fanning his amour propre), the serious side here is that she was already concerned about the security and stability of her child's life, especially in light of their family's tragic history of death in childbirth. But she also knows that whatever happens, Eugène will be "the most tender of spouses and thus the best of fathers" (May 19).

Adèle was already worrying about her size and appearance in May ("I can't carry my burden with any grace at all" and "these spots are most annoying" [May 19]), but by July, the sixth month, she reports: "I am round as a ball and I have no idea what I will be at the end. There will be a time, my friend, when you will have to drag me around. . . . Still, I'm not yet heavy. I walk well without fatigue; indeed it's recommended that I promenade." She is not so certain that it is good for the baby, but Dr. Lorvol assures her otherwise (July 1). Adèle had begun to see him in May. There appears to have been no question that she would be attended by a physician, though *sage-femmes* (midwives) were still involved in the actual birthings. In this age, middle-class families everywhere had largely converted to "scientific" obstetrics, hence male, school-trained physicians. This fundamental transition (perhaps best chronicled in the journal of the American midwife Martha Ballard)[11] goes unmentioned in the Galles' correspondence, preoccupying them obviously much less than the problem of maternal nursing. Eugène, as we know, was a firm advocate of nursing. Adèle agreed, but hedged her bets. On July 10 she writes her husband: "I'm on the verge of engaging a servant. She is a cousin of Julienne of Truhélin [their tenant]" and a recent widow, age twenty-nine. "She has raised two children and is wet-nursing at present a little girl here in the city, who is doing very well. She told me she would keep her milk, and if I can't nurse for some reason, she would do so. But . . . I am quite strong, as you know, my friend, and have courage. Rest assured that I will succeed. This woman will wash, sew, do my room, my household when the baby arrives." Thus it was that Adèle purchased milk insurance.

Throughout the pregnancy she continued to refer to the baby as both girl and boy about equally. It is interesting and perhaps a sign of the age that she displays no favoritism regarding the child's sex. Nor, now, does Eugène. Typical was Adèle's letter of August 9, where she reports on her program intended to produce a less traumatic birth and a stronger newborn:

> I continue to take baths, which because of the heat are quite tiring for one in my condition . . . [but] this repeated remedy should make the birth easier. I worry about my vigor and good health sometimes, for my little doll jumps and frisks

11. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale* (New York, 1990).

> around almost too much for me to take. But I prefer to suffer a little more so as not to have a weak child. I assure you that I will follow your advice for the little jewel [and] that I will give you a bouncy boy or a fat little girl (still my inclination). If only the little rascal would tell us what it is! But in sixty days I'll no longer be in doubt. Fanny has a letter from Aimée saying the she is nursing her new little girl perfectly and things are much better for her than with the first one. Pass along the word to our aunt [Marie]—if I have a little girl, I still don't know what name she would like to give it. If it is a son, I think that she would want to name him René Marc, which would link your name and Papa's.

Adèle hoped to honor both Eugène's virtual father and his genetic one. But she was also choosing her brother René's name, thus making the increasingly vital uncle-nephew link. As for the baby's sex, while there might have been some gender chauvinism for each, the young couple just seem happy to be having a child who would be the first to re-cement the bonds of the Galles–Jollivet–Le Ridant family. Aunt Marie Le Ridant will be the baby's godmother and as such will officially confer the name, though clearly there will be negotiation on the issue.

Adèle's last trimester saw all the trials of late pregnancy in hot weather—feeling unbelievably heavy, having her exercise threatened, being covered with "awful spots" that caused her "such anxiety"—along with repeated concerns about breast-feeding and a general crankiness that even came through when when she was writing to Eugène, but as his late-September return and her due date approached, her spirits brightened. On August 30 she reported that she had attended a ball: "In spite of my enormous size, I think that my beloved would have thought me a little bit pretty that evening." Even though she had to retire early, she had a delightful time in the company of her brother Yvon, Jean-Marie Galles, and Cécile. Her last letters dwell mainly on all the work that has been done on "our little room" (as part of a general renovation of the house); she knows he'll find it "charming," reporting: "I have already made the bed for us in the alcove. You will thus have a lovely (if small) place next to your fat, very fat Adèle . . . , a veritable monster even though people think that my sister-in-law [Eugénie, who was finally pregnant as well] is twice my size." Feeling worn down, to be sure, she nevertheless promises Eugène "that your good old wife with her gray hair will love you with the same tenderness as the Adèle of June 10, 1818" (September 3 and 9, 1819).

Adèle also occasionally reflected on the meaning of her new status as wife and mother. On August 9, in speaking of young Aimée Jourdan, a cousin of Virginie Le Ridant who recently went off to boarding school, she remarks: "She has quite beautiful eyes, her other features good, and a pretty shape, as befits a seventeen-year-old. The youth of Vannes is completely renewed and is better than that of my time. I am so proud to be established, but I believe that many of my contemporaries who are not dread the rivalry of the younger women." She went on to joke about his regretting having married so young and her current girth, but concluded that their role as parents cemented their relationship in new ways. Moreover, "Count on my tenderness, for what I lack in grace I make up in charm." As fundamental as love may be in marriage, however, children call for new levels of responsibility. In July she told Eugène about

the Monistrol tragedy. The wife, a close friend of Adèle's, had died, and her husband, "in his despair," committed suicide with his own sword.

> You surely know, my angel, how much this calamity rent my heart. I can think of nothing else. What further agony would this poor woman have suffered in dying had she known what he would do. The thought that she was leaving her children to a good father made her death less awful. Now these poor beings have lost everything. What will become of them? How little courage some men have, my friend. Was it not his duty to live for the one he had lost, for the children his dear wife left to him, who themselves would have kept alive her memory and who with time would have softened the pain?

René Jean-Marie Galles arrived on September 29, 1819, reported at the Mairie by Jean-Marie Galles, conveniently the *premier adjoint*, and Yves Jollivet, that family's emerging scion locally. Eugène, sadly, had not yet come home, his absence noted in the register. The birth was apparently routine, for there is no later comment on it, though there will be much about the daily progress of this first new Galles. The name settled on reflects, perhaps, the influence of sibling thinking: Jean-Marie, the eldest brother and leading Galles of his generation (himself named for his father's Parisian cousin), gets the nod over Marc. There is also the possibility that Marie's husband was thus acknowledged. René Jollivet would also be the boy's godfather, joining his sister Marie Le Ridant in spiritual parenthood.

A letter of October 21, 1819, from Maman Jollivet from Angers, where she and the younger Jollivet children had moved when René took up his post as *procureur général*, to Eugène, now home in Vannes, allows a glimpse of bourgeois mores and expectations after the birth of a new child. A friend, Laborde, had "made a portrait" of the newborn and delivered it to Angers himself. "If it were a little girl," commented the new grandmother, "I would certainly congratulate you and the mama" because it is so "pretty," but as it's a boy, "I congratulate you on his strong forehead." Such gender differentiation, and determination to establish it, even for an infant, is noteworthy. She exclaims about the good health of both "your wife and son" and says the children at Angers are very excited and all send their love. "My sweet Marie [now four] is enchanted at becoming *une tantine*." Despite her quick recovery, Adèle, she thinks, "has come down too soon to have dinner with you . . . especially during this season it's good to take precautions." Madame Jollivet also assumes the "Adèle has not yet gone to mass." And, regarding the subject of the hour, she notes that Eugène failed to mention whether Adèle was nursing "without discomfort." Here Adèle's stepmother reflected the pervasive fear of childbed fever that had taken away so many women in the family. (She was the lucky one among René's wives.) It was not that exceptional, even for their social class, in which a good 5 percent of new mothers did not survive one of their childbirths, though deaths-to-total-births ratios were much lower.[12] Recent mothers

12. My own analysis of mothers' deaths shortly after the birth of a child (cause of death is not indicated on certificates in this era) from my sample of families of Vannes's bourgeois elite resulted in this approximation and jibes with more general studies. The growing reliance on male physicians instead of

did not attend mass until after complications for both mother and child had passed. In rural Brittany it became a pageant, with the proud woman parading to mass in her finest raiment, to the admiration of all her neighbors. It was also the signal that she could once again become sexually active.[13] As for nursing, Eugène's presence at home (hence no letters) for the first six months of little René's life bars us from any detail, but later discussion shows Adèle to have been successful, if—typically—not always easily so. Did she use her milk insurance? No one tells us. The new family and the first son to continue the Galles name appear to have made a happy beginning.

Establishment: A Joint Venture

Other aspects of the newlyweds' correspondence of 1818–19 go well beyond the intimate history discussed so far. If Eugène Galles's engagement in the private sphere allows us to assess with greater subtlety the notion of masculinity in early nineteenth-century France, Adèle speaks to us of women's connections with the public sphere and the complexity of "gender roles."

To begin with, it is clear that Adèle, who is living with Jean-Marie, Cécile, and Françoise Autissier in the Galles ancestral home, not only runs the household but also makes business decisions with regard to her own little family's assets as well as larger financial determinations affecting the entire Galles-Jollivet clan. She nevertheless defers to Eugène in major matters, while simultaneously influencing the direction that his thought takes.

The couple's economic situation, though never troubled, lacked the security of many bourgeois families of Vannes. The Galles family assets had been divided evenly among the five surviving children, obviously diminishing the fortunes of each in comparison to their parents. Eugène was an elector, but only by virtue of his status as an army officer, for his modest income placed him well below the required *cens* of 300 francs in taxes. Nor was Jean-Marie a *censitaire*, though his solid reputation, moderate royalist political outlook, and connection with René Jollivet got him appointed second *adjoint* to the mayor of Vannes and thus to a seat on the city council at the age of twenty-six (in 1816), a post he retained until the Revolution of 1830. Jean-Marie became an elector when the voting qualification was lowered to 200 francs that year, recorded at 212 francs, with 86 francs provided by his business tax on the publishing house. This puts his net worth in the vicinity of 40,000 francs. At her death in 1827, Cécile's assets came to somewhat more than 30,000 francs, of which a full two-thirds consisted of a credit held on her brother Jean-Marie, who had bought out her share of the business and the big house. Like her oldest brother, who possessed a *métairie* near Vannes, she owned a *tenure à domaine congéable* (farmed by the enterprising

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midwives increased the risk of death, as Ulrich shows for Maine, because of either incompetence or lack of hygiene; across the West, childbed fever skyrocketed in the earlier nineteenth century, especially as more physician-attended childbirths took place in hospitals, where antisepsis was unknown. Sherwin Nuland, *The Doctors' Plague: Germs, Childbed Fever, and the Strange Story of Ignác Semmelweis* (New York, 2003).

13. See especially Pierre-Jakez Hélias, *The Horse of Pride: Life in a Breton Village*, trans. June Guichanaud (New York, 1975), 35–37.

Jean Ollié) at Breugolo. As for Eugène, his estate, recorded September 11, 1826, reveals a similar level of wealth, with 15,828 francs in mobile assets (two-thirds from his share in the print works) and 14,800 in landed property that included his one-fifth of the Galles townhouse, one-fifth of another significant leased-out dwelling in Vannes, and a *demi-tenure à domaine congéable* in Séné farmed by Jean Isuau, property he and Adèle purchased via *notaire* Glais in 1821. The wealthiest household of their generation was Fanny's; her husband, Henry Pavin, *was* a Vannes elector under the Restoration after they moved to the city in 1818. As for the older generation, the two Ridants and René Jollivet were *grands notables* and provided the appropriate country houses and much of the social (and political) wherewithal for our sibling archipelago. But even so, as we shall see, Jollivet—or his wife—managed his funds less than brilliantly, and Jean-Marie Le Ridant had to sell off Pont-Sal.[14]

One did not become an army officer for the pay. If Eugène and Adèle had scratched together enough to buy the *fonds* in Séné by 1821, it probably had as much to do with her hard work and solid management as it did with his salary. As a captain in Orléans he received 150 francs per month, which for the most part went to his own maintenance. All the officers resided in the same building, a fine old house on the main square. Food and drink, service, and the other accoutrements provided for all officers cost 60 francs. Eugène's elegant room and attachments seem a steal at 24 francs, but he remarked that after his other expenses, including his uniforms and the upkeep of his equipment, there was little left over. He *was* pleased, however, with his entire situation, for the food was excellent and the "society" of Orléans, to which his aunt and uncle (the commandant) introduced him immediately, amused him in his detached way. Above all, he loved his room, "decorated in beautiful red linen [wallcovering], with a large commode, a secretary, two mirrors, eight engravings, four of which are quite attractive, a small dressing table, a night table, and six chairs"; it also had a fireplace flanked by a large armoire. His tall windows opened on a beautiful view of the place Royale.[15] Overall, the newlyweds had to monitor their budget with care. "You know," he remarked on October 30, "that our resources are modest and that I had to spend a great deal to outfit myself here."

Eugène's routine involved training and military exercises with his battalion and meetings with his fellow officers, usually presided over by Colonel Le Ridant. As legion commander, Uncle Ridant lived in a fine town house and, to the envy of Eugène, could have his wife by his side while on duty. Marie Jollivet Le Ridant was in her element as the mistress of the dwelling housing one of the Loiret's top officials, arranging dinner parties with the prefect, the *procureur-général*, and the other key public servants as well as Orléannais high society. It wasn't Paris (where the Ridants also maintained an apartment), but Eugène, who attended many of these gatherings as well as dinners, balls, and outings to the châteaux roundabout, often escorting his aunt, while questioning the sincerity of many men he met, was impressed by the charm of his hostesses. Military officers mixed freely with the local elite and served as vital links ty-

14. *Cens* lists indicate electors and their tax burden, broken down by tax category; ADM, 3 M 42 and 43. Succession information used here: ADM, Q 2894 and 2924; En 2895.

15. Eugène to Adèle, July 16 and 21, 1818, ADM, 2 J 79 (2).

ing a developing national elite together. What is fascinating in this Restoration society was how little distinctions between nobles and haute bourgeois seemed to matter. On dozens of occasions, Eugène casually mentions soirées hosted by Madame so-and-so without ever mentioning her social station (though a particle or even a title might be included) and conversations with nobles and bourgeois alike, again without any sense of difference. What he *did* remark on (besides duplicity in general) were political differences: Ultras, whatever their class, drew his wrath.

Eugène thus found himself absorbed in his profession and its social responsibilities and left to Adèle the management of their affairs in Vannes. But not without her husband's admonitions. Always free with advice, he occasionally sounded a bit like Eileen Powers's fourteenth-century Ménager de Paris. Thus on October 30: "It will be up to you to manage your little revenues as you wish. Remember that order and economy make for good housekeeping and that these qualities are especially necessary when one has a fortune as mediocre as ours." In later letters she provides a detailed accounting of all their expenses other than daily purchases, but she usually does so after the fact as she proceeds about their business. His letter to her of September 2, 1818, shows her in action. She has a question about a lease payment that she is collecting from one of their *fermiers*, and he confirms the amount from his records. A quantity of grain is now in their possession from a sharecropping contract, and she believes it a good idea to sell it now; he agrees that it is not enough "to speculate with" (implying that this is precisely what she would do under other circumstances). Moreover, with the repairs they will have to make "next year" on the house, they are better off taking what they can get now, because prices are likely to fall. (They are only a year beyond the great dearth of 1817.) Finally, "if you don't want to do what you yourself believe best, by all means consult with your uncle Marquer [Clément, the *notaire*] or M. Ridant [Alexis, the *proprétaire* and tax collector] and weigh their advice." Besides the simple fact that Adèle (and not Jean-Marie or Yvon or Pavin) is doing all this, this sentence also reveals that Eugène trusts her judgment even if she should choose not to consult anyone.

After their first months of marriage, with Eugène's expenses stabilized and the baby on the way, their financial situation seems to have eased a bit. The reason had something to do with the general revival of agriculture and the land market. They were even able to make a quick loan of "1,000 écus" to René Jollivet, who seems to have experienced a cash-flow problem in making the transition from deputy to *procureur-général* at Angers. Pregnant Adèle found herself overseeing a huge renovation project on the Galles town house during the summer and fall of 1819 and daily reassessing their finances. Her letter of May 7 may be taken as typical and covers a range of issues. In a recent letter Eugène had urged her again to sound out "Galles and Pavin" about a short-term loan to offset the loan to her father, especially with the repair bills looming. She writes:

> I told you, my friend, that I had not yet spoken to Galles or Pavin. You should write them. The repairs have not yet begun. Yvon has made the arrangements with the workers. But he is currently preoccupied with the inventory at my grandmother's. It appears that they will sell everything. There are some things

> that we could use, . . . but I won't consider them, unless you tell me to. I realize that the repairs are already pressing us. It would probably be best to wait before making any other outlay until they are entirely finished. On the other hand, if you haven't changed your mind about the project for my ménage here, we could do it for a lot less [with these things] than buying new. But whatever you decide, my beloved, you know that your wife will follow your will in everything, convinced that it has already cost your heart enough to be separated from each other. Here's the budget of my expenses, which will change at the end of the month. I have spent the twenty-one francs you left with me. I assure you that I haven't made any of those great buys [*bons marchés*] that you rightly scolded me about earlier.

Adèle goes on to detail purchases, including a large amount of thread, some cloth, new trimmings for her straw hat, tailoring for him, and a dress for her. She mentions that she owes a little to Françoise Autissier and finally asks him, when he goes to Paris, if he might buy her a "little amaranth shawl of Lyon cashmere, one *aune* in width," like the one her stepmother got at a shop on the rue Saint-Honoré.

We have here a fairly precise picture of Adèle's role in the family economy and its limits. Although Eugène finds nothing wrong with her talking directly to her brothers-in-law about money, she thinks it better that he, the man of the household, broach the subject in writing. The point is, however, that there do not seem to be any fixed rules about dealing with such matters. At least this is the case in the context of an endogamous kinship situation, in the world of the sibling archipelago. Later correspondence reveals that it was Adèle who finally broached the subject of the loan and got it. As for the renovations, a man, brother-cousin Yvon, contracted the workforce—which made sense in any case, since he was a *notaire* thoroughly familiar with the housing markets—but throughout the summer it was Adèle, not her brother or her housemate Jean-Marie Galles, who oversaw the operation (all the while calling herself a "child" when it came to house repairs) and wrote Eugène in detail about the progress of the work. As it neared completion, she knew that he would be "charmed" by the transformation of their quarters as well as the new look of the whole house. She seems doubly proud that she had persevered amidst the "mess" of August, which was also the worst time of her pregnancy. The expenses for the project outran their expectations, and as early as July 18 she says that she "will try to collect some [money] from Papa."

The letter just quoted and many others show that Adèle controlled their daily household finances. She was on a budget that they had agreed upon, but Eugène made the final reckoning, and she reported her outlays in detail. She nonetheless investigated new possibilities for useful objects that might save them money in the long run, such as the items made available in the decision of grandmother Jeanne Le Frapper Jollivet, now seventy-five, to sell to the children whatever furnishings of her estate were not reserved for her heirs (Adèle's father and Aunt Marie). Adèle had power of attorney to act on Eugène's behalf.

Yet Adèle admits that her bargain hunting had gotten out of hand enough to irritate Eugène. She was well aware of the injury wifely extravagance might cause. In the

same letter of May 7 and another on May 19, she makes her only negative comments on record about Désirée Kercado Jollivet. René's wife was on hand to deal with the personal property of Grandmother Jollivet, and Adèle had greatly enjoyed seeing all her young half siblings. "As for their mother, she packed up all *her* linens, all *her* silver, and she told me that Yvon would have to *buy* a commode that she thought would suit him. I gave no response because I knew that I would say too much." Earlier, Adèle had hinted that her stepmother was rather a spendthrift (though a good guide to nice shops in Paris). She now lets her heart bleed to Eugène, saying, "You know your Adèle has an unselfish soul, but she had a right to hope for better, she for whom her poor mother had worked so hard," a rare reference to Cécile Marquer and a preface to her musings in the same letter, quoted earlier, about what might happen to their little family should she herself die young.

Two weeks later, as her father's family was preparing to move to Angers, Adèle first remarked that two of Desirée's children were staying with them, the others with Fanny, and then went on: "I spoke to you about all the belongings that Mme. Jollivet carried off in a state of impatience which might have explained her demeanor and her actions; but, my friend, God forbid me from thinking, on reflection, that my excellent father could be unjust toward us. His affairs are unsettled and his health is bad; he is troubled [*harcelé*] by a wife whom he loves in spite of all her failings; she has affection for him—and who would not." Family tensions always ran high at the time of successions (though Jeanne Le Frapper Jollivet was not yet dead), but Adèle seems rightfully distressed that her father had turned over the business of his mother's mobile assets to his third wife, who then proceeded to grab as much as she could with no thought at all to the fact that René was in fact in debt to his daughter and Yvon as well. The latter ended up buying a good deal of furniture, linens, silver, and other objects from his grandmother's estate for a total of 1,500 francs, not a centime of which was applied to the loans. The other sons were out of the picture, with François occupied with affairs in Lorient and Captain René currently in the Antilles. So it fell to Adèle—Yvon finding himself in the awkward position of serving as the assessor of the estate—to interact with her stepmother and to bear the brunt of the emotional strain of these unpleasant days.

Adèle was all the more upset in view of the many economies she had made for the sake of the baby. Finally, we learn from two oblique references that the enterprising young woman was running a seamstress business, mentioning payments to "my sewers" and outlays for thread and cloth well beyond family needs, and, most pointedly, that "les Dlles. Latour have not yet paid what they still owe us [herself plus Cécile and Françoise?] on their dresses and I dare not ask them for it for fear of embarrassing them" (May 14, 1819). It appears that she (they?) worked for friends and relatives of their own class (the Latours, whose men were mostly professionals and active in Vannes's civic life, were very close, appearing as witnesses for several marriages and births in the three families over the years), though this situation meant that extra propriety was called for when it came to collecting.

The point, of course, is that Adèle was an integral part of the financial life of the family and made an independent contribution to it, rather unusual for a bourgeois wife. In this she was perhaps more active than many of her contemporaries because

of Eugène's distance from the scene. The term "stand-in wife" comes to mind. It is a role, especially in the upper classes, noted by historians of women from the ancient empires through the European Middle Ages. Moreover, research on commercial and artisanal businesses in the early modern period has explored not only the place of widows but also that of wives whose husbands failed to meet their responsibilities (or were simply doing other things) and made clear how important their contributions were.[16] The rise of the Galles themselves owed much to such women. That Adèle followed suit should not be surprising. Nonetheless, according to custom (and the Napoleonic Code), she remained subordinate to her husband and sought guidance from men with apparently greater expertise than her own. And her language reflects a deferential demeanor despite the role she actually played. Phrases like "it is ultimately for you to decide" appear regularly, though she presents arguments supporting her positions. In point of fact, however, she and Eugène had few disagreements, so most of their interchanges appear benign.

Adèle did not hesitate to suggest major changes in their life and work. The most important came early and remained in the background for the next six years. On May 19, 1819, she wrote her husband that she believed, after many conversations with him, that Jean-Marie found the publishing business boring, being much more enthusiastic about Vannes's civic betterment, the intellectual and social life of the Francs-Maçons, and his scientific interests. (The later career of Jean-Marie would fully bear this out.) So she proposes the idea that Eugène abandon his military career and take over the management of the firm. She notes that Cécile would have to agree (Jean-Marie had bought out Fanny and Aimée after their marriages), but Adèle saw no problem there. It lay instead with their aunt and uncle Ridant. She sensed that a basic misconception had wed their males to the military. Bertin, of course, was gone, a reality that struck fear in them all. She knew that Eugène had been a brave and resourceful soldier, but was not certain how deep his commitment was to the army. Did it not owe more to the wishes of his uncle and aunt? And significantly, how deep was Jean-Marie Le Ridant's? Was his relationship with the regular army not in fact personal as well? Here is how she puts it: "As for our excellent uncle, it's he who may stop you [from returning]. I think [however] that he embraced a regular military career only because of his nephews, and he cherishes you dearly. It's an immense satisfaction for him to have you in his legion. But as you have already said, the caprice of a minister could one day separate you from each other." But it was really less the uncle than the aunt. "In the

16. Among many references, see Gerda Lerner, *The Creation of Patriarchy* (Oxford, 1986), chap. 3; Renate Bridenthal, Claudia Koontz & Susan Stuard, eds., *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, 2nd ed. (Boston, 1987); Thomas Kuehn, *Law, Family, and Women: Toward a Legal Anthropology of Renaissance Italy* (Chicago, 1991), especially chaps. 8 and 9; Daryl Hafter, ed., *European Women and Preindustrial Craft* (Bloomington, 1995); and Janine Lanza, *From Wives to Widows in Early Modern Paris: Gender, Economy, and Law* (Aldershot, 2007). My research in the papers of the *commissaires du Châtelet* of Paris in the eighteenth century has uncovered dozens of examples of married women operating as stand-ins for or independently of their husbands even though they would be hidden from view in official listings of occupations. Joan Wallach Scott has emphasized this same submerged role in studying the (woefully inadequate) statistics of work in mid-nineteenth-century Paris in "A Statistical Representation of Work: *La Statistique de l'industrie à Paris*, 1847–1848," in *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, 1988), 113–38.

end, my beloved, whatever you do, your friend will deem it good, especially since you have promised me that I will be with you all the time after the age of our child permits it. Despite the pleasure that I would feel in seeing you locate here in business, to lead a tranquil life in our city, to work for your children, I would give all that up rather than displease our good aunt, who cherishes us as her own children, rather than leave her alone, far from us, when she has done so much for us." Once again, the social vision and means to achieve it possessed by Aunt Marie stand above the self-determination of the new generation. If the goal that Adèle desired were to be achieved, it would come at the expense of reaching a new plateau of power and station for this family.

Here, as with Adèle's relationships with her stepmother or her brothers-in-law, the zone where the interests of the family and the emotional life of the family interacted was the terrain of tension but also of action. These were issues to be negotiated with subtle intelligence. And here was where this young woman—cousin, sister, wife, and daughter—thrived. Adèle, although a newlywed and only twenty-three, emerged rapidly as the extended family's affective linchpin in the absence of older women to perform that role. As the only married Jollivet daughter and that family's closest living link to the Galles as well as the Le Ridants, she possessed attributes none of her female relatives shared. Aunt Marie was clearly the family's most powerful female member and served its interests well. But though she sought to dominate many decisions made within the family and, as we have just seen, could veto—or make problematic—desires in advance merely by her perceived opposition, she did not have a family of her own and would have no direct heirs. Désirée Jollivet certainly had enough children, but her late arrival in the family, the relative distance of her own kin from the other families, and, it would seem, her several personal "failings," most of them tinged with her own self-interest (by definition anti-familial), marked her as an outsider even as her children were warmly absorbed into the sibling archipelago. Fanny, especially after her return to Vannes, as the oldest Galles sister seemed a good candidate for the role, but was not, like Adèle, at the center of the new kinship system and, a sin of major proportions in this age, was a desultory letter writer. Aimée, certainly both a lettrist and an ardent family loyalist, shared Fanny's peripheral status, compounded by geographical distance and a barely acceptable husband. Virginie Danet Le Ridant was a popular hostess in Vannes and very likely served as the hub of family connections linking Danets, Le Bouhéllecs, Jourdans, and Kerviches with the Ridant–Jollivet–Galles nexus (crucial for moderating political differences). Her children would marry back into it, but in this generation, she was not familiar enough with its internal relationships. Young Adèle lived at its heart. As she aged, and with the altered circumstances of her life, she became the "Aunt Marie" (but with infinitely more subtle, perhaps one should say more "nineteenth-century," arts of persuasion) for the next generation.

Public Service

Adèle Jollivet Galles took a deep interest in politics and civic affairs. Like her father, her uncle and aunt, and her husband, she embraced the Bourbon constitutional monarchy as envisaged by the Charter of 1814 and embodied in *le bon roi* Louis XVIII. Her well-connected aunt Marie, whose daily life was spent in cultivating notables on

both sides of the class divide and whose successes were manifest in the careers of her husband and nephew, provided a model of feminine politics that can only be described as "old regime." It had nothing to do with the vote or equal rights, but rather with influence and hard work, using the traditional mechanisms of female power in "society": the salons, soirées, balls, concerts, theater, galas, banquets, the world of Tout-Paris (or Tout-Orléans). It was not a feminist politics, to be sure, but it required the woman to be acutely aware of the political world around her and to be clear about her political opinions. Political discussion of a substantive sort crossed gender lines. Although rarely central, because taken for granted, women's involvement in politics crops up in our correspondence going back to Jacquette Bertin in the 1760s. How, after all, was Jean-Nicolas Galles liberated from the Bastille? Surely the line from Jacquette to her distant cousin the bishop to the proper officials in Paris had something to do with it. And while Marc Galles served on the city council and the commercial tribunal, the fact that his mother was the fifth-highest taxpayer in Vannes made hers a voice to be reckoned with, heard by him and by others. Adelaïde Jollivet Galles, Eugène's mother and Adèle's aunt, wrote her only surviving letter after hosting a fall of Robespierre party and, with Gertrude Henry Kerdu and another friend, endlessly discussed the politics of counterrevolution. And more recently, gentle Cécile Galles writes of her heated debate with the Bonapartist Joseph Le Monnier in a carriage on the way to Pont-Sal in 1820: "The Devil, who intrudes everywhere, slipped in with his best friend, politics, which until then we had avoided. But our heads heated up along with the carriage and there we were yelling at each other; I thought Soson [her uncle Monnier's nickname] and I were soon going to be tearing out the little hair we had left. His wife [the Ridant elder sister], anticipating danger, adroitly changed the subject." We have the impression that it was not the first time this had happened.[17]

So Adèle came from a strong line of political women, though none as active as Aunt Marie. But according to her son René, Adèle was the most dedicated and knowledgeable royalist he knew. Nevertheless, as noted in the last chapter, Adèle applauded the effect of wine on "*bons* Bretons" of left and right in soothing their political passions, passions of which she was fully aware. Overall, she situated herself squarely in the middle of Restoration politics, seen clearly in her lament to Eugène when the minister of war had reassigned a unit to Vannes: "Tomorrow a part of the legion of the Orne will arrive in Vannes and stay here. This made me very angry with M. le Ministre, who could just as easily have sent us the legion of the Loiret; and, *ma foi*, if he doesn't watch out, I'll become an Ultra or a Liberal rather than remaining Ministérielle" (May 7, 1819).

The newlyweds' correspondence bristles with politics, though mostly in the form of the quotidian comments of people whose lives are absorbed in it rather than theoretical analysis. Unlike Aunt Marie's, Adèle's political life was linked always with family and locality within the warm embrace of Catholic belief and royalist protection. But her royalism, like her father's and her husband's, rejected the fanaticism of the Ultras. Eugène in his correspondence of 1818 made several disparaging references to

17. Cécile Galles to Adèle Jollivet Galles, August 25, 1820, 2 J 79 (3), ADM.

their damaging influence and sensed himself surrounded by them in Orléans: "Tomorrow I'll go chez M. le marquis de Charnacé. I expect to find an old Ultra, well reinforced, for such is the dominant outlook here, where the Swiss [the bane of revolutionaries] are more highly regarded than French officers" (July 31, 1818). On another occasion he remarks that the comte de Ferrand, the writer, is "not bad, for an Ultra. When he's not talking about politics, . . . he is really quite interesting." Adèle joked about them as well, but also felt the need to be circumspect. In a letter of August 1818, she had talked about an unspecified fight between Ultras and moderates looming in Vannes with her father's name in the middle of it. Adèle had apparently said that she planned to stay out of the squabbles, for as Eugène paraphrases and praises her, "there is little enough unity in our social circle." This means that her opinion would have counted had she offered it. Because of the prominent position of her family in local and national politics, Adèle found herself regularly involved in social intercourse with the top officialdom of the Morbihan. Among many examples, when the new commandant of the departmental legion, General Joubert, arrived, he was introduced by her brother François, the *sous-préfet* at Lorient, to the political leaders of Vannes, and Adèle served as one of the hostesses for the soirée held at the prefecture. On another occasion, a more intimate gathering chez Madame Chazelle, she finally had a chance to get to know the prefect's wife better, noting that her cold exterior in more formal situations gave way to a "most amiable" demeanor in a smaller group (May 14, 1819).

She also kept Eugène abreast of political events occurring in Vannes and the Morbihan. On April 22, 1819, for example, she talks worriedly about the fickleness of the local political class, given her father's anti-Ultra stance. Adèle then assesses two recent appointments: "Our [civil] court has been formed. As you predicted, M. Caradec has become the president. I'm happy about that. But M. Febvrier is the Juge d'Instruction [the investigating magistrate]. I am quite angry to see them appoint people like that." Vincent Caradec came from a line of moderate politicians, and his father had served loyally during the Empire, while Vincent himself was appointed president of the Conseil général du Morbihan in 1811, a post he retained after 1815. Le Febvrier, though having an almost identical career to Ambroise Caradec's politically, was more distant socially from the Jollivet circle. He was the son-in-law of Mayor Mahé de Villeneuve (1804–1808) whose bankruptcy ended his career and became an enormous scandal, injuring many reputations. Most damning, however, was Le Febvrier's role during the Empire as *procureur au tribunal du premier instance*, in which capacity he preoccupied himself with rooting out opponents of the regime.[18] This included Jean-Marie Le Ridant and other Chouan suspects. That he should now be tapped by the Restoration government to carry out a similar function shocked Adèle, though he would be enforcing the law against "seditious crimes" sponsored, let us recall, by her father.

René Jollivet's defeat for reelection in July 1819 seemed a foregone conclusion (Adèle believed that he was "relieved"), but his stock remained high with his king and the first minister, the duc de Richelieu, who in anticipation had already nominated him for the prestigious position of *procureur-général* of the Angers district. This office

18. Bertrand Frélaut, *Les Bleus de Vannes, 1791–1796: Une élite urbaine pendant la Révolution* (Vannes, 1991), 153–54, 195–97.

reported directly to the Garde des Sceaux, the minister of justice, overseeing a jurisdiction of several *départements*. As noted previously, the family moved over several months during the spring of 1819. Letters at this time from Jollivet to Adèle, lost to us but reported by her son René in his "Journal" years later, showed that the old royalist warrior, though honored, was weary with battle fatigue and reluctant to leave his native city. and "especially his dear Truhélin, this land he loved so deeply." He was the first of many in this constellation of families to assume a role on the national stage, but it was taken, according to his grandson, with "much hardship for him and his family." His loyalty to Richelieu and the cause of moderate royalism nevertheless spurred him on. "He liked Richelieu a great deal," wrote René II, "dining at his residence from time to time and having a high estimate of his worthy and upright character," and got on well with his successor, Descazes. At the same time, though it would probably end up costing him more than the salary he would receive, "the desire to be useful to the future of his sons and the establishment of his daughters, as well as his devotion to the king, made him decide to make this further sacrifice."[19]

But almost from the beginning, his tenure, like that of all of his political allies, was in question. On October 4, 1819, Adèle summarized one letter from her father about the anxieties of his first months in office. In his "qualité de ministériel et celle d'étranger," he has to be very careful about what he says and writes, attacked as he is from both sides, Ultra and liberal. It is a sad day for "our poor France," she says, "when someone who has never done anything motivated by ambition, but only to be useful to the prince and the fatherland, is forced to envision the day when he will be reduced to ask himself: what will become of me?" The Ultras are "extremists" on the verge of ruining the country, while the liberals undermine the dignity of the crown. Then a telling comment: "Between the two, but *closer to the second*, are found the men of good sense, the constitutional monarchists with Louis XVIII most sincerely at their head." For René Jollivet and his family—and their history, friendships, and marriage choices bear this out—royalism meant not a return to the society of orders but guidance by the king and his charter in a society of orderly progress and careers open to talent. He writes his daughter as if she is fully aware of all the nuances and pitfalls of the current political scene. Even his children seem to have been dismayed, if not by the politics of Angers, at least by the city's pretensions. Eighteen-year-old Marie-Cécile wrote Adèle (April 27, 1819) about the fashions of this bustling town, where there were more blondes than brunettes, and the "jeunes personnes" seemed to spend as much as "les femmes" on their clothes and hair, at least if one were to judge by a walk on le Maille, "la promenade du beau monde" of Angers. Was she feeling intimidated or reflecting the rather austere values of these Vannes royalists?

René Jollivet's tenure in the Chamber had ended well before the defining moment in the history of the Restoration, and of monarchy in modern France: the assassination of the duc de Berry, son of Charles, the heir to the throne, which occurred on February 18, 1820. Adèle moved to Angers to join her father and stepmother and their family a few months later. Why this move was made is not entirely clear (and

19. René Galles, "Journal," 1:17.

Jean-Marie Galles, who escorted her, was very "saddened to be separated from his little nephew"), but for Adèle it meant the opportunity to see Eugène more often, for even though his unit had been transferred to the north (Béthune) as tensions with Austria mounted, he could get away more easily either to Paris (at the Ridants' apartment) or to Angers. Adèle also delighted at being surrounded by all her younger brothers and sisters. She loved the Kercado children as much as she loved her own full siblings (René and Marie-Cécile) and those by Jeanne Le Ridant (François, Baptiste, and Yves), waxing ecstatic, in an earlier letter, over Louise "growing up and filling out, [with] a truly charming face" and "good Jenny, . . . always the same, blessed with a warm heart and good judgment that compensate for what she's been denied in looks." Still, it was Marie-Cécile, the last child of Adèle's mother, who held a special place in her heart. "I would love to raise a daughter . . . as charming." Adèle, pious as she may have been, thus was stunned by the young woman's decision in May 1820 to take religious vows. "This ceremony was rather sad and indeed inconceivable for one who has no inclination toward *la retraite*. It was painful to see a pleasing young person who seemed fully capable of fulfilling more important duties in this world lock herself away forever and withdraw from it. Still, when she has a genuine calling, a nun should be happy. She doesn't have the anxieties of *une mère de famille*." Adèle voices an opinion shared by most members of her family: it is one's Christian duty to contribute to society, every bit as much a part of God's plan as serving Him in contemplation.[20] It can also, of course, be more demanding, as she thinks about her responsibilities toward her son.

Adèle's departure for Angers appears to have been particularly distressing for Cécile Galles, who was thrust into the role of sole hostess at the Galles' town house. Her letter from Pont-Sal of August 20, 1820, to Eugène speaks deeply of the power of sibling love. She found all the brouhaha over the great annual religious festival at Sainte-Anne d'Auray "tedious," but above all she had "black butterflies in the head" because Adèle and the Jollivets were not there. "If I weren't worried about getting in trouble with God, I would pick a fight with Him for having transported the elder branch of our family to Anjou. Without wanting to be indiscreet, I sometimes slipped into your midst [Eugène and Adèle]. I listened and I spoke occasionally. You are the only ones that I can talk to about certain things. And I know that I have no concern that they will not go beyond the three of us."[21] We can only imagine what concerns this kind and sickly sister had.

Adèle's own life in Angers, though she could no longer sleep in their "little room," seems to have been happier than in Vannes, perhaps because she got out more, since babysitting was easy to come by. There are no signs of conflict with her stepmother, and "Papa plays with little René all the time." The boy was growing fast, largely—Adèle was sure of it—because she had had success nursing him. He "laughs a lot," loves to beat on his drum, and is "obviously intelligent" (July 20, 1820). She sleeps in Jenny's

20. Although there is no indication of what order Marie-Cécile joined, it was clearly not in teaching or nursing, which Adèle would have no doubt applauded.

21. ADM, 2 J 79 (3).

room, Jenny having doubled up with Louise in the next room. Pélagie, her *bonne*, sleeps with René there as well, door open so "I can have him when I want." She had earlier mentioned that René was beginning to take a few steps and nursed as well as he could while teething. In her letter of July 27, she indicates that she is trying to cut back slowly so he can be weaned soon, but whenever she tries to hold back, "the little scamp wants to nurse more than ever, and when he throws himself at me, crying, I can't always resist the pleasure of consoling him." But they will persevere, for by the end of August, "he'll be eleven months old, and as strong as he is, that's long enough. I'm also afraid that my milk is deteriorating." Breastfeeding, as we have already noted, was a serious business not only for the individuals involved but also for the strength of the nation. On August 10, Adèle reports on Cécile's long letter from Vannes. At the top of the list is the news that Fanny, "enormous" with her third child, plans to nurse, which thrills Adèle, since it "gives so much pleasure to both mother and child." Adèle was thus a family pioneer in this duty of the female citizen. How she fared with weaning René is not reported, but Fanny's Henry arrived on schedule. Eugène writes his oldest sister from Béthune (September 17, 1820) that he'd hoped to come see his latest nephew, but he had a chance to spend four days with Adèle in Angers. He wants the little cousins to become the "best of comrades" and visualizes their families strolling together in the park. Although Aunt Marie keeps him company in this "dull" town, he misses Vannes enormously and cannot wait for the end of his current stint.[22]

Adèle's letters during the summer and fall of 1820 provide insight into the thinking of ordinary devotees of Louis XVIII, now increasingly concerned about the Ultra reaction after the assassination. René Jollivet and his son François, both in appointive positions, clearly felt the pressures befalling all moderate royalists, who seem almost to have been more suspect than the liberals. Adèle gives a sense of it in her letter to Eugène of July 22, 1820: "Papa is well—or at least appears so. His physical condition does little to show the difficulties he's been having [*le mal qu'il éprouve*]. I find him preoccupied and a little sad, but this is hardly astonishing, for in his position, one could hardly be completely calm when the government is anything but." Adèle is nevertheless an optimist: "I always hope for the best and thus have fewer anxieties, whatever happens. I don't know if such an attitude is that of a mother or the wife of a soldier." Still, she continues, none of this would be so troubling if somehow they could be above the *necessity* of serving: "I wish that all my family was rich enough to be independent, and thus, despite my love for my country, I feel that I would be more tranquil." Surrounded by men in public service, but seeing them harassed and endangered by its vicissitudes, she voices what no doubt lurked in the back of the minds of most nineteenth-century bourgeois: the aristocratic dream of service, or any sort of work, freely given but also freely withdrawn. Adèle continued her letter in hope. How sad it would be if the Ultras "defeat[ed] all that we have worked for in the past. Let our Bourbons succeed. But what strength can a government have that flings itself . . . into the arms of one party, then another; when an honest march, firm and straight,

22. Ibid. This is one of the few letters to or from Fanny in the collection, a sign, perhaps, of her more distant place in this sibling archipelago.

would be the only one to save our poor country." Typical of most political discourse of the age (a reaction to the murderous ideological groupings of the Revolution), Adèle thus blames "parties" (the equivalent of cabals)—in this case the rabid Ultras—for the ills of the age, and in pluralizing "Bourbon" makes it clear that Louis and his brother Charles (despite his encouragement of the Ultras) bore within their persons the *ligne droite* that would provide proper governance. She echoes her father's speech that helped elect him in 1815, in which he defined his and other legislators' roles as those of men who "seconded" the king, using their wisdom to advise and implement the royal will. In many respects, the Ultras, though somehow "more royalist than the king," had a much more activist view of the legislative role and would prove it in bill after bill—such as that seeking enormous compensation for lost émigré property—which hardly "seconded" the vision of their monarch.

"Bourbon" royalists, even though they called themselves "les constitutionnels," were in some respects less constitutional monarchists than many Ultras, at least in their notions of legislation. In their minds, the king alone could rise above *parti-pris* to rule in the name of all the people. He bore within his person and the blood of his family the essence of the nation. Adèle was flabbergasted at the "ingratitude of the French toward our good king." In many respects, it was the military that best anchored the ideal monarchy, for "military might," she believed, "is the backbone of the state." Although this no doubt reflected certain personal prejudices, it can hardly be said that Adèle lacked perspicacity about the way of the world. Late in September 1820, she revealed the religious dimension of her monarchism, while reflecting the hopes and dreams so often associated with royal birth. Wasn't it lucky that Eugène was in Paris when the birth of the duc de Bordeaux, the son of the martyred duc de Berry, was announced. "I can hardly express how I felt when in the night I was awakened by all the bells of Angers and the noise of canons that we had so impatiently awaited. My first impulse was to thank Providence. I regard this as a miracle that will save France. God has granted us a son of Saint Louis. . . . Our own son now has a king for the future!" A clearer expression of the meaning of the "miracle baby" for ordinary French royalists could not be asked for.

Adèle's hopes were soon dashed. Morbihan prefect de Chazelles, although not identified with the Ultra camp, bowed to its pressure and tapped a fellow émigré noble, and an Ultra, the marquis de Cresolles, for the *sous-préfecture* at Lorient, thus forcing François Jollivet out. René was able to warn François before the fact and thus allow him to search out other possibilities with some dignity. The job he landed was hardly a plum: *sous-préfet* of Barbizieux in the Charente.[23] All this contributed to the worsening of his already weak constitution, and François would soon die (February 1821), leaving his wife and infant son to be cared for mainly by her father, a rich Lorient businessman. As for René himself, the ongoing reaction eventually caught up with him. His grandson, again using Jollivet's letters to Adèle, put it bluntly: De Serres, the

23. Chazelles actually offered François the role of departmental secretary general, the head of the Conseil de la Préfecture, but this would have taken him out of the career path in the national administration that he hoped to continue. Adèle to Eugène, August 17, 1820.

minister of justice and Jollivet's immediate superior, though a Richelieu appointee, "hardly lived up to his given name of Hercule." And thus "the position of political personages who shared the opinions of the family became more and more tenuous, and, as always happens, local jealousies [*les jalousies de clocher*], avid and overheated ambitions, spiteful envy above all, put into play their odious but formidable energies. The men of the Morbihan allied with the Angevin deputation to bring about the fall of my grandfather." Two days after receiving a commendation from De Serres for a job well done, Jollivet was cashiered by the Council of Ministers. Officials of several courts under his jurisdiction sent protests to Justice, but to no avail.[24] René Jollivet's career as a public servant had come to an end. But in consolation, he could move back to his beloved Truhélin, surrounded by "his own."

If Adèle's politics embraced values prizing traditional relationships and were rooted in Catholic belief (the royal heir's arrival was not the only time she invoked God's guidance for France, and she sometimes chided Eugène for forgetting his Christian duties), she occasionally showed sparks of what might be described as feminist retort. In July 1819 Eugène had made a remark about the prowess of "our Breton fathers," to which Adèle responded: "But can't stop myself from protesting against the insult that you leveled against the mothers and grandmothers of the descendants of these valiant knights [*Preux*]. If the bravery of the Bretons is duly recognized, the fidelity of the Bretonnes is as well, and your absence from your *pays* must have made you forget that this is beyond doubt" (July 23, 1819). Several other instances of such good-natured "defense of her sex" dot her correspondence, but nowhere do we find any serious consideration of the defects of the Code, let alone women's suffrage. And numerous little reminders of her unreflective acquiescence to gender subordination abound, ranging from the simplest "it's for you to decide" to her recognition of the standard of female immobility: she and Cécile had gone for walks as part of her prenatal routine, but they were restricted because "two women can't go far." But Adèle welcomed her role as stand-in wife and saw nothing at all wrong with running a small *affaire de couture*. When she reflected on her condition as a woman, it was as a sister, wife, and mother, and if set in a larger perspective, her thoughts became a rumination on the human, not the female, condition in general. In a rare remark on her reading (a casual comment which shows that she read constantly), she compares a book she'd just finished on the Celts' knowledge of astronomy with Eugène's and her father's wonderment upon seeing the Pillar of Saint Mark, a monument from the early Christian era, in Orléans. These works, "transmitted to us by the centuries, cause us to reflect upon those who have lived before us, to realize that the life of any man is an imperceptible point in time; . . . we live only an instant, and yet how many sorrows do we experience? At least, my friend, let us spare ourselves the most cruel and promise to cut no more instants of happiness already so short from our separation." Adèle thus returns to what

24. René Galles, "Journal," 1:16–20. No one has rendered the history of the murky (and fateful) politics of the Ultra triumph better than Guillaume Bertier de Sauvigny, *La Restauration* (Paris, 1955), 225–65, though the full implications of this turning point are deftly handled in the more recent work of David Skuy, *Assassination, Politics, and Miracles: France and the Royalist Reaction of 1820* (Montreal, 2003).

is important for her: her self-realization in connection with Eugène in the context of a tragically flawed human existence in which one must struggle for happiness.[25]

In the context of her intermittent marriage and the trials of her birth family, these poignant remarks have a special resonance. Adèle Jollivet Galles was a complex person whose inner strength, insecurities, and sense of herself as a woman, wife, family member, and citizen emerge from the correspondence of the first two years of her marriage. We have followed her activities and her thought through a momentous time for her personally: her marriage, her first experiences with sexual love, the joys and anxieties of pregnancies, her husband's loving involvement in prenatal care, the debates over breastfeeding and its valuation, the first steps of child rearing, all the economic and social duties of a stand-in for her husband in the household. Just as important, her connection with the public sphere was manifest in virtually every letter. Not only did she complete a range of transactions involving family and household relationships with the larger economic, legal, and administrative systems, but she operated quietly as an independent businesswoman as well. Though lamenting the pinch of financial coercion, Adèle fully understood the compulsion to serve that motivated the men of her family, abandoning her dream of having Eugène constantly at her side as the head of their publishing house almost as quickly as she entertained it. To be sure, the costs, financial, emotional, and physical, of her father's and eldest brother's struggles in the public sphere weighed upon her. But never did she waver in their support, and she gloried in the later achievements of her uncle Ridant as he became a *maréchal de France*, and those of her other uncles, brothers, cousins, and nephews who occupied a range of prominent positions in the military and in regional and national elective and appointive office, and dominated Vannes's civil society, as we shall see. And above all, she would shepherd every step of her two sons' paths to prominence: René to the École polytechnique on his way to becoming *intendant-général* in the army, Félix to law school and a spectacular career in the judicial administration. She was much more than a Rousseauian *citoyenne* who raised virtuous sons for the *res publica*; she was herself a vital part of the political life of her community, a responsive sounding board for the political ideas (and woes) of her men, and a thoughtful, informed royalist ideologue in her own right. Adèle's correspondence with Eugène, her father, and later her aunt and her son René reveals the inadequacy of maintaining the overly structural distinction between public and private, calling upon us to rethink the relationship of women, specifically French women living under the yoke of the Code civil, to the putatively masculine public sphere. Her story is all the more striking because she was a conservative, leagues apart politically from those whom we might expect to breach the barriers of gender. What it allows us to view more clearly, perhaps, is where those barriers lay.

25. This letter is dated April 19, 1819. On April 22 she talks about reading "incessantly," and on July 19 thanks Eugène for sending "four novels."

CHAPTER SIX

Notre Adèle

The marriage of Adèle and Eugène bore all the fruits imaginable for those of their milieu in the years that followed their intense and often anxious first encounters with the trials and joys of "establishment." The young matron returned to Vannes in 1821 after her father lost his post at Angers, taking up residence once again in the Galles' ancestral home, much to the satisfaction of Jean-Marie. Although Cécile could act as hostess for their social life, her health had become more precarious, so Adèle's presence at the table and on his arm—as well as her many skills in household management—would be welcome indeed. Moreover, Jean-Marie, at thirty-one, had reached the ideal marriageable age for a successful bourgeois male. His serious and rather taciturn mien would no doubt be enlivened by the witty and usually sunny personality of his sister-in-law in prospecting for a wife. René Jollivet and his large family moved into Truhélin, where the pleasures of the country and the sea air gave him some degree of peace during the later Restoration. Eugène remained at various locations on the Belgian border, and growing tensions with Austria over the Spanish crisis meant that visits home while he was on duty became less likely. The couple discussed the possibility of Adèle's coming to live with him, but her new pregnancy as well as her needed presence among the families in Vannes ultimately ruled it out. Their correspondence, though somewhat spotty in the early twenties, continues to guide us, becoming ever more dramatic as the Spanish war became worldwide.

Settling In

General René Galles, writing sixty-five years later, realized that his earliest memories dated to this time and were mostly about his mother and the rambling house on the square built a century and a quarter earlier by Nicolas Audran for his enormous family. He still could picture

> those old stairways, those little bedrooms, a veritable labyrinth where to get anywhere, you always had to walk up or down steps. Above all, I remember my mother's bedroom, which looked out on the square. I'm transported back to a gloomy evening in the winter of 1822; a light rain was falling, fine and dense, and I had my forehead glued to the window; a wandering minstrel was there

below; his lantern glowed a pale red in the mist; he sang in a sweet and melodious voice:

C'est le solitaire,
Qui voit tout, entend tout,
C'est le solitaire,
Qui sait tout, qui peut tout.[1]

René cherished this memory, a refuge in stormy times. His mother's room, shared with her and Pélagie when Eugène was away, was surely the prize of the house, its oak-paneled walls "covered with country scenes, characters, and animals. These tableaux were made up of painted cutouts, ingeniously arranged and carefully appliquéd on the oak," finished "around 1750." An inscription etched below a shepherdess on a swing and "showing her pretty little legs" identified its authors: "In these cheerful tableaux, the art of the cutout has joined its skills with those of painting; Le Galles invented these marvelous harmonies and Renaud graced them with his supple brush."[2] Great-grandfather Jean-Nicolas and his artist friend had left their mark for artist-poet Marc, Eugène, and all René's aunts and uncles, basking in the glow of a romantic aesthetic that had given rise to the greatness of their Audran cousins at Gobelins in the very house an Audran had built.

In 1821, despite the nation's turmoil, all seemed on their way to personal restoration. René Jollivet embraced retirement as the memories of François's premature death and Marie-Cécile's disappearance into a nunnery faded. Eugène returned to the arms of his beloved for six months, his son delighting them both with new feats of dexterity and intelligence, while their daughter Cécile made her way into the world without incident in October. And Eugène could hardly complain about his stint with his regiment, which began in July. Stationed in Paris, he lived with his aunt and uncle, enjoying Tout-Paris before returning in November on paternity leave. But the most momentous news of the year was surely the engagement of the Galles family's new scion, Jean-Marie. He carried the weight of their history, the sixth-generation master of the print shop, but whose civic, political, and cultural responsibilities would, in this century, define the destiny of his class. Sadly, we have no letters to guide us through this courtship, no sisters, aunts, or cousins to witness, counsel, and lament love's way.

His bride would be Joséphine Le Monnier, the daughter of Mathurin Le Monnier, a revolutionary army officer who died shortly after her birth. Mathurin's crotchety and amusing Bonapartist brother Joseph was married to a Ridant sister. We have already considered the wide-ranging political implications of this marriage, which further integrated these royalists with bourgeois of liberal, "Bleu" proclivities.[3] Jean-Marie had rapidly become a key figure in Vannes's civic life, serving at a very young age on the

1. "It is the lonely one who sees all, hears all; it's the lonely one who knows all, who empowers all." René Galles, "Journal," 1:21–22.
2. Ibid., 23.
3. See chapter 4.

appointed city council and then as *adjoint* (second, then first) to the royalist mayors of the municipality. As such, he became intimately acquainted with the kinship grids of the city's elite, presiding, along with the mayor, at their civil weddings, after having done the paperwork listing their parents and witnesses.

Joséphine and Jean-Marie wed on January 16, 1822, toasted by a cross-section of the city's bourgeois elite. As they settled in, Joséphine became the mistress of the house, while Adèle, her little ones (René, three, and Cécile, three months), and Pélagie formed "un ménage à part" in the rambling dwelling. The new bride quickly became pregnant and the family celebrated. During the summer, two more weddings kept the festivities going. In June, Yves Jollivet, now twenty-eight and the heir to his father's title of *notaire royale*, married Zuma Kerviche, whose family connections further integrated these royalists with the liberal elite. The second wedding, in early August, saw the second of the Jollivet children by Désirée, Louise, wed a young physician from a wealthy (and related) landowning family in Guidel, Augustin Le Montagner.[4] Thus 1822 proved a banner year as well for the family.

The Great Crisis

But joy faded quickly. In September a letter from Aimée to Eugène describes a household besieged by a "fever" of "epidemic" proportions in Vannes. She had come from Châteaulin to nurse them all. Adéle seemed to have turned the corner, taking doses of quinine, but was still too ill to write. Joséphine remained gravely stricken, and they worried about the effects on her unborn child, due in two months. But "Galles is the sickest of all" and found it impossible to work with other officials to stem the disease in the city. Only the children appeared immune. (Cécile continued to nurse as Aimée woke up to bring her to her mother.) "We [Aimée and the babies] keep the household afloat."[5] Although everyone weathered the storm, it is possible that Jean-Marie was still bedridden, because, though the father normally registered the birth of a newborn at the Mairie, Marie-Thérèse, who arrived on November 23, was reported by Yves Jollivet and César Pradier.[6] It was also clear that the birth had been difficult and that Joséphine was severely weakened.

Correspondence picks up again in February 1823, when Eugène returned to duty in the north. Adèle, in her letter of the twenty-sixth, seems to be hugging their children close, wishing they could all become a "post parcel [*ballot*]" to be with him. But "Joséphine gets worse and worse despite her youth and the return of good weather. She is emotionally drained. The will to live a life previously so full of happiness now struggling against her suffering is a tragic spectacle to behold. Her poor husband has changed so much more since you left. But he still holds out hope. Our stricken house, so gay in recent years, is now in the depths of sorrow." As if this were not enough, Adèle was sick with worry about "my dear brother René," whose ship, carrying four

4. Mariages, June 19, August 2, 1822, ADM. Again, see chapter 4 for the political implications of these three marriages.

5. Aimée to Eugène, undated (September 1822), ADM, 2 J 79 (3).

6. État civil, naissances, November 23, 1822, ADM.

hundred men from Toulon to Rochefort, encountered a terrible storm off the coast of Portugal and had not yet been heard from. She did not have to bring up the fate of Bertin Galles for this to resonate with Eugène. Adèle planned to take the children to Pont-Sal to play with the daughter of a friend visiting Aunt Marie and relieve "my totally dark thoughts."

Eugène had not received her letter when he wrote his first on February 27, but his news was almost as depressing. The march from Rennes to Alençon could not have been worse, as torrential rains made the roads a sea of mud, and 120 men had fallen ill enough to be hospitalized, drenched by the deluge and captured by fevers. Three hundred of the 1,500 in the regiments bound for Spain were down with the same symptoms. Eugène himself remained in good health, sustained, he argued, by drinking only cider and wine. (It was suspected at the time that the cause of the epidemic of 1822–23 was cholera, but the evidence still remains mixed.)[7] Eugène expressed his concern for Joséphine and Galles but did not know how grim things had become. He also stressed the strategic significance of their union: "I wish with all my heart that this succession will come to pass," a rare comment in this familial correspondence on love's practical side.

Eugène consoled himself with talk of family: regret at missing his "brother" René (whom he assumed was now home); hope of seeing Adèle's more elusive brother Baptiste, now stationed at Sedan; and above all the joy of spending long hours with their uncle Ridant.

> If anything could compensate for the pain of being far from you, it would be the friendship extended to me by this good uncle. [As we ride] we talk about all of the family and it is often that the conversation turns to you and our children; and then in the evening we read the *Gazette* [*de France*?] together if we can locate a copy and the next day we begin our course again, looking for some site that reminds us of Ponsale [Pont-Sal] or something else of our *pays*. But it's always in vain because there is only one Ponsale and we're not there!

It is rare to have a picture of the daily life of military officers, in any case, but to hear how their conversations casually mix the intimacies of family life and the latest political news is rarer still.[8]

The core of family life remained marriages, births, and deaths. Marriage lay at the heart of the kinship system, which in turn—as this book seeks to show—structured power in both the economic and political spheres. A birth cemented the ties that marriage created and the "succession" promising future alliances. The death of a child, while traumatic, usually would be offset by a new birth. But the death of a spouse irrevocably ruptured the kinship grid that had been achieved by the marriage, es-

7. See William Coleman, *Death Is a Social Disease: Public Health and Political Economy in Early Industrial France* (Madison, 1984).

8. Douglas Porch, *Army and Revolution: France, 1815–1848* (London, 1974), an excellent study of the period, deals largely with the politics of the military. But see, for the Empire, the fine-grained study by Alain Pigeard, *L'armée de Napoléon: Organisation et vie quotidienne* (Paris, 2003).

pecially in the Christian West, where the most powerful of the church's prohibitions concerned marriage to a dead spouse's sibling or cousin (there was only one such marriage in Vannes before 1852), sending the families involved reeling into double despair: for the loss of a loved one and for the loss of the alliance. If the dead spouse left a child or children, however, the connections among the families, as we have seen in great detail, remained strong, the political and economic consequences of kinship left more or less intact. But if both parents and an only child passed away, the links were vastly weakened, if not broken altogether. This was the tragedy of Jean-Marie Galles, Joséphine Le Monnier Galles, and "Résia" (a nickname for Thérèse, her grandmother Le Monnier's given name) Galles.

> *Vannes, 12 Mars 1823.*
>
> My beloved Eugène, since my last letter, I have beheld an excruciating scene that has rent my heart. Joséphine is no more. She succumbed on the tenth at one-thirty in the morning. Poor Galles is beside himself with grief. We had persuaded him to go chez Pavin and yesterday he left for Pont-Sal, where he is to stay until Friday. He entrusted me with the care of his daughter, whom I've had with me since Saturday the eighth . . . , but Madame Monnier [Joséphine's mother] made a scene and took her home with her; I was stunned, but in fact I am now calmer, for never have I been more tormented about the state of my own children than in tending that poor little one whose frail existence is so precious for her father.

Joséphine had declined very rapidly since Adèle, who had taken the children the week before to Pont-Sal, had last seen her. Adèle just hoped that in Joséphine's last "cruel instant the feeling that she was beset by evil had finally dissipated." Cécile would soon arrive from Pont-Sal to help with the household as once again the family gathered around.

Eugène's long response (March 20, 1823) offered a wide range of counsel and consolation. Though his letter to his brother has been lost, we gain some insight into their relationship and his sense of Jean-Marie. "Galles, with a character seemingly reserved, has an excellent heart and will repress his sorrow; but he will deeply appreciate the sympathy of all his own [*tous les siens*], the only thing that will comfort him." Surround him with sibling and cousin love. "My poor brother has tasted only a spark of happiness and experienced all the horrors of misfortune. What compensation Providence owes him! He will henceforth find it only in his daughter—provided that He preserve this dear child." Eugène then offered his advice: place Résia with a wet nurse in a nearby hamlet, close enough to visit but away from the city and "above all out of the hands of Madame Le Monnier." If Jean-Marie prefers to keep her at home, "there is no question that you [Adèle] can care for her as for your own children." Jean-Marie chose the latter: who better than his cousin-sister and regular consort?

But all was in vain. On April 18, 1823, Adèle scrawled: "I had no hope that our dear little Résia could resist so much pain. She died last night. To think that it has been fifteen months to the day since her star-crossed father was married and that she was his last ray of happiness." Adèle shudders at the thought that this might have happened

to them. "My heart is in knots. I can't eat." Jean-Marie went this time to Truhélin, accompanied by Cécile, to be among the younger cousins and to breathe the sea air of Arridon. Adèle continued, "The idea of seeing him return here paralyzes me [*me glace*]; with the death of his wife, we had consolation to offer, but now, my love, we have nothing at all."

Adèle had her own fears, for her René was ill, made worse, she said, by her own "torment." He had recurring fevers caused by worms, but Dr. Mauricet, the young and well-trained partner of the recently retired Dr. Lorvol, had promptly treated him and assured Adèle that the boy was improving. She had gone into detail about René's symptoms and Mauricet's treatment in an earlier letter lost to us. Eugène, in response to it on April 23, remains ever the medical watchdog. He had described the symptoms to his surgeon major, who said, yes indeed, it sounds like worms and approved "what Moricet [*sic*] did," which included applying leeches. Aunt Marie, who was visiting, agreed, which seemed to confirm it. Still, Eugène had to warn, "I don't really approve of leeching, but the doctor here told me that they [the leeches] can only do him good," though he feared the psychological impact. Medical opinion was currently mixed on the issue, and he remembered his own terror of leeches as a child.

Adèle's own health was weakened by these swirls of tragedy and anxiety. But, she writes on April 28, siblings were there to comfort. "Le frère René," having returned home safely, had been with her a good deal. She and a "thoroughly fatigued" Cécile wove a crown of white flowers of the same sort that "formed Joséphine's *garniture de noce*" for Résia's grave. "God did well to call the mother to Him first." Aimée and her oldest girl, Armande, were expected to arrive soon via Pont-Sal, while sister Jenny had gone off to Châteaulin to look after her little ones. But the sibling who meant the most could not be with her. "Never have I felt your absence more than in this moment of pain." Of course, "our brothers and sisters each embrace you." Two days later, Adèle tells of Jean-Marie's return from Truhélin. Though she wished that the children were "a hundred leagues away" so as not to remind him of his loss (and René was still pale from his illness), he greeted them tenderly. "The poor *malheureux*, he no doubt searches among them for his daughter whom he was so used to seeing there; he seems overwhelmed, but it is a sadness strangely calm and resigned."

The shadow of maternal death had again spread over this family, repeating a macabre ritual now in its fifth generation. Once again, but in this era with a love more meaningful than ever before, brothers, sisters, cousins clasped hands in the dark. The links of their sibling archipelago had in part been forged by the terrible uncertainties of young adult mortality, and one cannot avoid the speculation that if such experiences intensified (at least in perception if not statistically) across the broadening middle class with its more numerous children, we may be observing one element encouraging the palpable shift toward the consanguineous kinship structures at this time. And in fact, Jean-Marie Galles would not go far from "his own" when he started a second family.

Eugène came home for Résia's funeral and to console his brother and the entire family. His departure on May 23 threw Adèle into depression. "My beloved Eugène, where are you? How I've suffered since the awful moment when you clasped me in your arms as you left me!" Tears soaked her face as she fleetingly imagined him still there with her. "I see you, I touch you, I hold you, I am with you again; but now it

seems that I've lost everything in this bed where I was happy so often. I will bathe it in my tears." Over the next two days Adèle added to her letter, trying to relate news of the children, but always returning to her pain, as baby Cécile cried out for her papa. René, soon to be four, put on a braver face, swaggering on their walk with Aunt Jenny, wooden sword in hand, but "you have no idea of the tenderness with which he caresses me since your departure, especially when he sees me cry, saying, 'He'll come back, my *petite maman*.'" By May 25, Adèle had become more focused and resolved "to occupy myself uniquely with these dear children and the cares of my little household" and to economize for their future happiness, for that magic moment when Eugène would retire.

In a previous letter (April 15, 1823), Eugène had discussed in some detail his prospects for advancement. The next major step for him would be to become a *chef de bataillon*. About one in ten captains was chosen for this position, so he calculated that it would take up to nine years for him to make the grade. He also noted that this would assure him a Croix de Saint-Louis and very likely a Croix de la Légion d'Honneur. He would be in a position to retire at a stipend of 1,500 francs per annum after fulfilling his service at that rank. This was hardly an enormous amount, which was why they needed to husband their other assets. He also thought that he could count on a position as *receveur des contributions d'Arradon*. He hoped that his uncle Ridant would retire about the same time to Pont-Sal. "Wouldn't we then be the happiest people in the world?" Adèle was ecstatic. One can imagine how these discussions tempered the sadness of their recent tragedies. By the end of her three-day letter (though she still imagined him stepping down from the diligence that had just pulled up in the square), she was almost cheerful, demanding that he tell her all the details of his daily life, first in Paris, then back in Douai.

Just as Adèle's household was beginning to return to some semblance of normalcy (was the resilience of Jean-Marie more than an act?), the roof—quite literally—fell in. On June 22, 1823, as masons and woodworkers were preparing the front embrasure of Adèle's quarters to install a new window and Venetian shutters, they discovered a major crack in the outside wall. Before repairmen could move to shore it up (it seems to have held previously only because of the interior masonry, now removed), it collapsed that evening, crashing into the bedroom of the leased apartment one floor below, which belonged to Dr. Mauricet. By a "miracle," neither the servant whose cubicle was obliterated nor Mauricet's father had yet gone to bed. And the workmen below, who had apparently been building scaffolding, had just departed for the night. Adèle somehow blamed herself for not having been aware of the situation and was appalled at the likely cost of repairs, which would certainly eat up whatever "economies" she had slated for the rest of the year. She even thought of letting her Pélagie go. As for the children, René had been "naughty and surly" and went so far as to say the wall collapsing was her fault. He was duly punished—sent to his room—but Adèle congratulated herself on her restraint in not correcting him in anger.

On the morning of June twenty-fourth, we find Adède, despite a headache, determined to be cheerier (though she had already signed off the previous night with banter about Eugène's conversations with a "jolie petite femme" whose husband, she was sure, was as faithful as hers) as she reels off news of the family. Papa was "at the

moment" in good health, splitting his time between town and country. Adèle had remarked two months before that she was again concerned about his slow repayment of their loans to him and implied that medical expenses were to blame. As always, she's fascinated by her younger sisters: "Jenny and Louise are wonderfully well. The first ought to come back [from Châteaulin] soon, but Mme. Montagnier [Louise] has asked to stay with us for another month—and will likely get permission. It seems to me that our young sister and her husband are almost childlike. One is headstrong and the other does not give in easily, but they love each other nearly to the point of idolatry. That's what we want for now; reason will come later." Jenny and Louise had long kept rooms at the Galles town house (as well as at Truhélin), but it appears that Louise and Augustin spent their first months of marriage there as well—and wished to stay on. Adèle reveals for the first time a quality that will become more prominent: her role in matters of marriage. Undoubtedly, given her closeness to "*our* young sister," she had gently shared her thoughts with Louise as well. At the same time, she scolded her older "sister" (who had written negative comments to Eugène about these flighty newlyweds) for overreacting: "I think that Aimée attaches importance to things that aren't worth the trouble."

The world outside was darkening: "This Spain, this war! Everything is making me shake with fear about your next tour of duty; and God forbid that you will be called up to fight." Currently, Eugène was not in danger, for the northern border was not considered as vulnerable as the southern, but the crisis was mounting in mid-1823. As for the home front: "Nothing new in our town. Our Ultras [she had crossed out "la noblesse"] do splendidly well and our noted liberals make most humble servants and are well received. There are in this world some strange goings-on [*drôle de choses*]." Adèle in fact perfectly captures a political society where prominent liberals did indeed make their way despite Ultra dominance. For the most part, however, to judge from the rarity of comment in her letters, her engagement in the political life of the city appears to have declined over the previous two years. This might be attributed to her increasing preoccupation with her children, but her father's retirement (and his disdain for the Ultras) could well be more important. Moreover, Jean-Marie, as *premier adjoint*, kept thoroughly abreast of local politics and probably filled his brother in via their own correspondence, now lost to us. In light of both her past and future commentary, it seems unlikely that Adèle simply lost political consciousness because of domestic concerns, but two small children and her absorbing love affair with her husband—and soon a third child would be on the way—certainly must have tempered it.[9]

Affairs Military and Domestic

Eugène had recently been transferred from Douai to Valenciennes as part of the military build-up in France's prime coal region. His new commanding officer was

9. The question of life-cycle changes in women's engagement in the public sphere certainly has been analyzed for working women, but the stay-at-home wife of the nineteenth century is usually assumed to possess a rather fixed (and minimal) relationship to it. It is my hope that this book will serve to open the question to more nuanced consideration.

"a rather meticulous general who has us make the rounds day and night and since we have only four captains, our turn comes up often enough." Indeed, he had to interrupt this long letter of July 10, 1823, to tour the ramparts of the city twice before signing off at midnight. But he certainly preferred this duty to the alternative. Eugène was certain, however, that the invasion of Spain to restore Ferninand VII was on the verge of victory and reinforcements would not be called upon from such a distance. Adèle need not worry. What little spare time he had allowed him to attend occasional gatherings for cards and other games at the homes of local worthies after dinner. But balls—of which there had been a number of late—were off limits because of his duties; he hoped to attend one "next week." The one interesting activity time had permitted was a day trip to the Anzin mines. His report to Adèle (in the same letter) provides a remarkable commentary on France's nascent industrialization and insight into the sensibilities of this young royalist:

> Nearly three thousand workers live there at twelve hundred feet underground. It seems like descending into hell, and the inhabitants of these caverns aren't far from looking like devils. Each pit has three openings, one that the workers go down, another to bring up the coal, and a third for air. The first of these shafts is quite narrow; one descends three hundred perpendicular feet by ladders attached to the walls; it's only at this depth that they begin to work the mine, building supports as they follow the veins of coal, several of which reach under the river and the city. The wretched workers are pitiful to see; covered with a sort of sackcloth, the coal dust pasted on by sweat, one can hardly see their pale faces, withered and elongated, in the light of the lamp attached to their hats. This is how they live from the age of seven or eight, and that to make, working from three in the morning until eight at night, 25 and at most 38 sous per day. But they are accustomed to the way of life, if one can call it living. We are, here inside, one worker told me, a nation that has been brought up for this. Within these depths, there are often accidents caused by rockfalls or by the detonation of inflammable air that these caverns contain, what they call firedamp. Four months ago, twenty-four of the *malheureux* fell victim to such an explosion.

Eugène's obvious sympathy for the plight of the miners is tempered by his perception of their resignation, a discourse typical of the conservative *enquêteurs*, such as Dr. Parent-Duchâtelet or Baron de Morogues, who would soon try to penetrate working-class France. So too was his Dantean language in describing the working world of these poor "devils."[10]

Eugène had also made an excursion to Denain to view the battlefield of the last great French victory in the War of Spanish Succession, one that set the stage for the favorable terms of the Treaty of Utrecht. He was unimpressed: "A very simple obelisk

10. On contemporary concepts of the poor and the inquiries into their condition, see above all Louis Chevalier, *Classes laborieuses et classes dangereuses à Paris pendant la première moitié du XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1958).

placed along the road carried the name de Villars [Louis XIV's formidable *maréchal*] and the date of the battle [1712]. But work was in progress on a monument more worthy of the subject it commemorated," one of many projects the Restoration government undertook to strengthen the image of monarchy in France, much to Captain Galles's approval.[11]

Eugène concluded his letter with sensual longing: "How long it is until October! Will you please repay me for all that I have had to suffer? The day when I have the joy of holding you again in my arms . . . dominates my thoughts; but when I look around, how lonely I am." He signed off with the usual words of love for her, "respect" for Papa, and *amitiés à tous nos frères et soeurs*, their affective universe.

For all his reassurances, Adèle was not convinced that Eugène was safe from deployment to Spain. The first round, the rapid victory against the radical liberal autonomists of the north, had been an unalloyed French triumph in which the 100,000-man army had largely been greeted as liberators (thanks perhaps above all to a supply policy paying locals generously for the army's needs), while France perfectly fulfilled its obligations to the Holy Alliance. The victors had not, however, restored the king's cousin, Ferdinand VII, to the throne, since the constitutionalist government had escaped to Seville, taking their captive monarch with them. Thus the long march south and the prospect of besieging that fortress city. (Napoléon's troops had tried, and failed, for three years to take it.) So Adèle, who obviously kept up, felt there remained reason for concern. She began her letter of July 28 by copying a letter sent to Eugène in Vannes from a fellow officer in Spain that emphasized danger along with glory. Later on, she also remarked on the anxiety of a friend, and mother of two, whose husband, a captain, had been wounded in action. And although there was no question that she and her heavily military family supported the war (Finance and First Minister Jean-Baptiste Villèle was concerned about the loyalty of army officers in the wake of the Charbonnerie conspiracy), she also seems to have been fascinated by the notion displayed in the Spanish uprising of a truly constitutional monarchy and was particularly taken by the wife of General Quiroga of the constitutional party, who was under house arrest in Lorient: "It is said that she is a great and beautiful woman, most elegant."[12]

The next day she got up at six to continue this letter, but was captivated by the laughing chatter of Louise and their youngest sister, Marie, now nine. She is growing like a weed, Adèle reports, and has "a graceful, even elegant, carriage." She "seems to bring out the best in people," especially René, who is transported among "the angels" whenever she is with him. Adèle then turns her attention to the future of her favorite brother (other than Eugène, of course). René Jollivet II needs to find a wife. René has resisted the idea, and Eugène has until now not taken "ce chapître-là" seriously. Adèle is thinking that the milieu of the Démergau family, friends of the Castelots of Lorient, which already includes two daughters engaged to military officers, might be

11. On Denain, see François Bluche, *Louis XIV*, trans. Mark Greengrass (New York, 1990), 563–67.

12. On the French invasion of Spain and its political repercussions at home, see Guillaume de Bertier de Sauvigny, *La Restauration* (Paris, 1955), 250–65; and Evelyne Lever, *Louis XVIII* (Paris, 1988), 545–58.

a place where René could find "love." This is the first indication we have that Adèle is beginning to take on responsibilities in the crucial matter of *alliances*, as now befits her station.

Eugène did not write to Adèle until three weeks later (August 20, 1823), though she had written him a second letter with much news about the children, which he relished "in the least detail." She apparently pouted about his less-than-prompt responses, but he explains, "In this dismal *pays* I hardly have anything interesting to tell you about. Writing to you is about the only pleasure I have here," even though she might think it a bit "tedious" that he writes endlessly of his love, his "tendresse, comme Werter [*sic*]." Eugène, in a rare literary reference, invokes the Romantic ideal of the power of the pen as the instrument of anticipated love. After this neat turn by way of apology, Eugène then reels off a list of really boring happenings and says he will tell some more "interesting" tales tomorrow. Happily, that letter is lost to us, and so are others preceding his return home in October.

In these exchanges during the summer of 1823, while Adèle was clearly still pleased to be the object of her love's desire, we begin to glimpse the young matron's emergence as "Aunt Adèle," which will carry her to to a position of trust and authority much like Aunt Marie's for her generation. Adèle is situated at the very center of her sibling group, with eight older brothers and cousin-brothers and six younger sisters and cousin-sisters. Aunt Marie fell in a similar position (two older and one younger sibling, with older and younger cousins and in-laws). Neither bore the responsibilities of the eldest to act as the family's leader or, if female, to make a marriage that would clearly advance the family's interests. Nor did they have the freedom of other siblings to seek adventure or alternative lives or loves, as was the case with Marie's brothers who went to the colonies, and Félix, who married a Parisienne, went into publishing, and dabbled in literature, or Adèle's brother René fighting off marriage for his love of the sea, Baptiste opting for unmarried army life and rarely returning home, and her beloved next-younger sister taking the veil.

Instead, they were—or would become, in Adèle's case—the backbone of their generation, the one whose opinion was always sought when major decisions were being made and whose influence on those decisions, as we have seen with Aunt Marie, would often be decisive. This middle sister/aunt, especially if thrown into circumstances beyond her control (in Marie's case, remaining childless) that undercut her chance to fulfill the ordinary expectations of a nineteenth-century bourgeoise as wife and mother, became the fulcrum of the family's internal affairs as well as its key representative to the outside world in matters of social intercourse and the orchestration of its kinship network. This person, this role, is only beginning to be understood as one of the keys in the making of the nineteenth-century bourgeoisie.[13] The events of the

13. For an overview of such women's roles in the German bourgeoisie, see David Sabean, "Kinship and Class Formation" and "Kinship and Gender," in *Kinship in Neckarhausen, 1700–1870* (Cambridge, 1998), chaps. 22 and 23, especially 474–82 and 490–510, in which Sabean surveys the literature and reports on his own wide research into middle-class family behavior. See also his "Kinship and Class Dynamics in Nineteenth-Century Europe," in *Kinship in Europe: Approaches to Long-Term Development*, ed. David Warren Sabean, Simon Teuscher, and Jon Mathieu (New York, 2007), 300–313.

next two years would dramatically prepare "our Adèle" for it, though the terms under which it became consolidated were not those of her choosing either.

As usual, Eugène's return left written love on the wind. As usual, another child was rapidly conceived, sometime in late October. As usual, his departure on May 23, 1824, left Adèle depressed and the children's eyes glued on each diligence that rolled into the place de la Préfecture in hopes that their papa would miraculously reappear. Several letters survive from the last two months of Adèle's third full pregnancy. Veterans now, neither of them speaks much of it except for the usual endearments about the "little being" in her womb from her and the occasional words of advice from him. ("It's time to stop sailing to Truhélin," he writes on July 22, "for one never knows when a strong wind will come up.") The pregnancy went remarkably well, with sister Cécile and Pélagie constantly available, the best midwife in Vannes on call, and Dr. Mauricet literally next door. Adèle got her promenades in, often with her aunt Virginie Danet Le Ridant, and had little to complain about, except for the heat in early June, which quickly gave way to a cold and rainy spell that everyone save her bemoaned. Although it was unlikely that Eugène would be able to return after the birth, Adèle was delighted that her brother René was planning a three-month leave in Vannes to coincide with the first days of his new niece or nephew's life.

Living Class

Eugène stopped in Paris on his way back to Valenciennes for several days with the Ridants and the round of soirées that always unfolded in his honor. All back in Vannes were enthused about his shopping expeditions on their behalf: Adèle seems to have worn only Paris gloves, Cécile its scarves. The children all but adopted Monsieur Chalmel, the postmaster, as their surrogate father, with toddler Cécile certain that he had "found Papa and Papa had put this candy in his hat" (June 5, 1824).

During his visit, Eugène also felt the cold winds of royalist politics and class disdain in the last months of the ailing king's life. This was the period when the issue of compensation for the émigrés was coming to a head. Restoration of lost properties was out of the question, but Villèle had come up with a scheme to give worthy applicants public bonds in amounts equivalent to their value and to pay for it by reissuing bonds already held at a lower interest rate, effectively reducing income from them by about a quarter. Louis XVIII supported the plan, as did his brother and successor Charles. No other issue, however, so clearly divided bourgeois from aristocrat, for the vast majority of those *rentiers* who depended significantly on this income (rather than on land or commerce) were smallish urban bourgeois. René Jollivet, not content simply to fade from the public eye during the "reign of the Ultras," had let it be known, in the interest of justice, that he opposed the Villèle measure, despite his loyalty to Louis. In the midst of the crisis, Eugène had an encounter (or rather non-encounter) that serves as a telling anecdote symbolizing the complications of class that continued to stalk even the worthiest of bourgeois during the Restoration.

The scene was an evening chez Madame la marquise de Sérent, lady-in-waiting to the Madame Royale, whose husband, the duc d'Angoulême, as the leader of the Spanish expedition, was the talk of Tout-Paris. De Sérent, a powerful Breton aristocrat, as

we have seen, had been the protector of the Le Ridants and their kin. She loved the younger generation and was revered by them in return, especially as a role model of regional pride. As Adèle remarked, "She has such a good heart, cut from the that fine old Breton cloth that has become so rare" but remains so important "as we lose more and more of our distinctive character each day"—ironically, a reality that her own French-speaking milieu had contributed to mightily. Here, then, is Eugène's story.

> I had hardly arrived when Madame de Gouvelles of Paris [the sister-in-law and cousin of Madame de Gouvelles of Vannes, an intimate of Sérent] was announced. She, Madame d'Ouvenarde, and two others I didn't know entered the salon. Gliding in on tiptoes came *une vraie petite maîtresse de Paris*, displaying a little shepherdess's cap on her head, an amazingly showy dress [*une robe à grand étalage*], and a facial expression so exaggerated that I would not have recognized her if she had not been identified. I came up to her and asked for her news; she responded with a nod that told me she didn't acknowledge me.

Despite a warm greeting from Madame de Sérent and several others, the snooty (and rather ridiculous) Parisian noblewoman continued to snub Eugène, as did others in her entourage (though not her Breton sister-in-law). Eugène was outraged and left after half an hour. It turned out that politics was linked with social class in all this because of Jollivet's stance (and, by implication, his nephew's) on Villèle's bond proposal. The next day, Eugène was invited to lunch chez Madame de Sérent along with the Vannes Gouvelles, and both bent over backward to assure him that no snub was intended, that the sister-in-law had made an honest mistake. But he was not mollified and went on to rail about Parisian "pretensions" and the Ultra magnification of bygone values. On his last day in Paris, Eugène was invited to visit General de Couaslin, a Breton member of the Chamber of Peers, which would take the final vote on the compensation bill, and was "very well received." The general "asked me what was Papa's opinion on the bonds law; I told him. [Though opposed himself,] he thought that the law would pass the Chamber of Peers. I tended to agree, despite all that I had heard in Paris. Whatever the opinion of this noble peer, you know the result."[14]

The most interesting thing about this little tale—besides, perhaps, the overall sense it gives us of the ambience of a Parisian high-society gathering—was Eugène's unwillingness to overlook the offense.[15] His pride was at stake, and his family's political reputation and social station seemed to be the cause of it. René Jollivet's loyalty to his version of moderate royalism set him at odds with many old-line nobles who had rallied to the Ultra banner. Moreover, both Jean-Marie Galles and Yves Jollivet

14. Eugène to Adèle, Valenciennes, June 10, 1824. The bill, after heated debate in the Chamber of Deputies and in the press, was rejected by the Chamber of Peers on June 3, largely because of the unprecedented fiscal procedures required to implement it. It would be passed a year later after the accession of Charles X. For trenchant analysis countering previous arguments that Louis opposed it, see Bertier de Sauvigny, *La Restauration*, 503–9.

15. For a full treatment, see Anne Martin-Fugier, *La vie élégante, ou la formation de Tout-Paris, 1815–1848* (Paris, 1990).

had become members of the Freemasonry, joining many former Napoleonic officials. Although overrated as a bastion of Enlightenment values (in Vannes it really was just a social club), and despite the fact that the king himself as well as Joseph de Maistre were members, local Ultra aristocrats avoided it like the plague. Clearly many Breton nobles, including Madame de Sérent, the other de Gouvelles, and General de Couaslin, embraced Eugène's extended family, which, if devoid of aristocratic blood, did have among its number émigrés like the Marquers. Clearly, too, with Adèle as our witness, these people were "true Bretons," not phony Parisians like the offending lady. What fascinates is that here, a century and a half after the "Bourgeois Gentilhomme," a young, immensely confident (and conservative) *roturier* is the one who makes fun of the aristo-shepherdess. In a later reply, Adèle mocked the gold-laden getup worn by Vannes's noble and Ultra prefect (and wondered at its incredible cost) at a religious procession. Neither did Adèle hesitate to ridicule the antics of priests and royalist fanatics such as Monsieur Puech, who toured the countryside preaching a vision of the Chouan past in which lord and peasant acted as one against the Revolution. As we shall see, the mid-twenties was the moment when bourgeois families in Vannes began to exude a new confidence and establish their power in civil society, if not yet in politics.

Eugène and Adèle had begun discussing his retirement before his return home, and now the subject comes up in every letter. They visualize a future in Vannes itself, with Eugène possibly taking over direction of the publishing house (of which he remained one-fifth owner). Jean-Marie Galles, recognized by all as the head of the family, seemed increasingly inclined to devote his energies to civic involvement. He had been connected with the mayor's office since 1816 and was now *premier adjoint*. Besides his membership in the Loge de la Philanthropie et des Arts, Galles had recently helped to organized a group of men, including several young aristocrats, interested in the arts and sciences as they might be applied to the understanding and improvement of Vannes and its region. This would be the nucleus of the learned society called La Société polymathique du Morbihan, founded in 1826, which Galles himself proposed in a speech. He would fulfill, like thousands of his fellows across France, a classic role in the drama of bourgeois establishment in the nineteenth century as an activist in civil society and local politics for the greater good of his community.[16]

Whether Eugène might follow him in such activities, as would several of his cousins, remained to be seen. For now, the pieces were beginning to fall into place for his retirement. The Croix d'Honneur de Saint-Louis, which appears to have been a prerequisite for advancement to *chef de bataillon*, was in reach, though clearly its acquisition would need some help. The following lines from his letter to Adèle provide some insight as to how such rewards came about. Earlier in the same letter (June 10) describing his snub, Eugène hoped his cousin-brother René could help his candidacy for "la Saint-Louis" when he went to Paris: "Tell him to write Madame de Sérent if he

16. See Christopher H. Johnson, "Kinship, Civil Society, and Power in Nineteenth-Century Vannes," in Sabean and Teuscher, *Kinship in Europe*, 258–83. On the national significance of the society, see J.-P. Chaline, *Sociabilité et érudition: Les sociétés savants en France* (Paris, 1995), 222.

has not already done so. It would be good if Papa wrote to her as well. She was astonished that she had not yet heard from him. I believe that I told you that she promised to make *des démarches* on behalf of the Croix d'Honneur. I also spoke to Abbé Rocher about it, but he is limiting himself to major affirmations of support for everything that concerns the estimable M. Jollivet." In other words, he did not want to wear out his welcome by taking up Eugène's cause too vigorously. Eugène would receive his cross in a few months, so apparently something worked.

For her part, Adèle had been house hunting. In her letter of May 23, after reporting on their finances (noting that they did not have the "unlimited budget" that the prefect seemed to enjoy) and the somewhat confusing status of their intrafamilial loans and debts, she wonders nonetheless if they can afford to lease "a pretty little house" belonging to Rallier in the heart of the city "near Papa." With two bedrooms and all the appropriate accoutrements, it seemed perfect for them. But because of its location, it was too expensive. Currently leasing at 400 francs to "étrangers," it could be had for 360, "even though 300 might be too much for us."

Despite her focus on practical matters and the future they hoped to share, there was a tone of resignation and, occasionally, anguish in Adèle's letters after her husband's return to Valenciennes. In his June 10 response to her letter sent two weeks before, Eugène actually admonished her for her remorseful tone, reminding her of the short time they had to wait before being together forever. She realized the effect of her mood and on June 17 took stock of their lives:

> Please don't be affected by the sadness I experience by our separation. I don't want to increase yours, but I need to talk to you. Still, I assure you that I have become less emotional; our friends should find me the same. I'm busy, I go out for strolls, I eat and sleep well. I'm perfectly healthy, I caress our beloved jewels every day. I speak to them about you, my thoughts are always with you, and I can't help it if my heart aches in missing you; but hope is there to restore courage, and when I feel the warmth of your tenderness, my beloved, as you feel mine and our dear children's for us both, Eugène, I wouldn't change places with anyone. When I find myself too sad, my friend, I take up my pen and chat with you and find consolation in the lines that always seem to come to me.

As for Eugène, she tells him not to coop himself up in his room but to get out, "see the world, find distractions." Still, Adèle can't help but mention that the children miss their papa terribly, Cécile crying for him from time to time and René in a clingy stage, even refusing to go out with his *bonne*.

The best tonic for them both remains the letters themselves, which they read over and over, and then "count the moments until the next one arrives." Adèle was thrilled to read every detail of his return voyage to Valenciennes with all the little stories of encounters with fellow passengers and dinners he had enjoyed. They were so well told that "even a stranger" could read them with pleasure, but for her, they almost made it seem that she was at his side. She always begins her letter "at least two days ahead of the weekly schedule" (June 23). Letters were their lifeblood, as they were for thousands

of far-flung families, especially those who, like our protagonists, were determined to expand the scope of their place in the world.[17]

Once again, Eugène read about the birth of his new son without witnessing it. The date was July 21, 1824. Sister Cécile did the honors: "My dear friend, your little Félix salutes you and instructs me to announce to you his welcome in this world." The previous morning, feeling the time was near, Adèle had seen off a "little convoy" as the Pavins took René and his sister, riding proudly on horseback, to stay at Truhélin. René hoped that "his mother wouldn't buy [*sic*] his little brother too quickly because he didn't want to come back to town before having spent several days with his grandfather." Around nine o'clock that night, Cécile and Adèle came in from their walk and chatted until ten with brothers Yves and Stanislas.

> Adèle went to bed without complaints, accompanied by Pélagie, who at midnight went to get [midwife] Madame Maillé, [assistant] Annette, and Madame Kerviche [Zuma's mother], who wanted to be there for the celebration. At three in the morning, *Monsieur ton fils était dans le monde*. He is stronger than René and Cécile were, very big eyes, nose and mouth average. I think he looks like Adèle. I got up at one o'clock to attend. He was so anxious to see his mother unburdened that he came almost effortlessly. Félix gave me his first present with a magnificent spray. He hungrily took to the breast only hours after his birth. There is no sign of colic and he sleeps in his cradle like a three-month-old.[18]

Cécile sent a messenger to Truhélin, "where his arrival caused great joy. René was delighted, though Cécile said she would rather have a little sister."

Adèle wanted the name to be Désirée-Marie Félix in honor of his step-grandmother, his godmother (Adèle's sister), whose confirmation Stanislas had just been dispatched to seek, and the youngest of the elder Jollivet uncles, Félix, about whom we otherwise hear little in the correspondence. As a Parisian, however, he no doubt had regular contact with his sister, Marie Le Ridant, and Cécile notes that the name "conviendra à ma tante." Fanny is writing the latter with the news, while Cécile writes "M. Marquer," Adèle's mother's brother. She now believes that "everything is in order." There has been a flurry of visits from aunts and uncles, but Eugène is not to worry about Adèle being overly fatigued because "we receive only people who are close and whom we can *chasser à plaisir*." The godfather would be Adèle's brother René, who unfortunately was ill in Paris rather than in Vannes as planned. Cécile, apologizing for the random presentation of all this news because she is listening with "one ear for my nephew and the other for his mother," notes that all the legal documents (delivered by Hervieu and Blanchard) are in order, including the gift of a *bureau de tabac*. She concludes by

17. These lines mirror those of other historians who have built their studies of families and their milieux during this era around correspondence. See especially Catherine Pellissier, *La vie privée des notables lyonnais au XIXe siècle* (Lyon, 1996), and *Loisirs et sociabilités des notables lyonnais au XIXe siècle* (Lyon, 1996); and Anne Verjus and Denise Davidson, *Le roman conjugal: Chroniques de la vie familiale à l'époque de la Révolution et de l'Empire* (Seyssel, 2011).

18. Cécile Galles to Eugène Galles, July 21, 1824, 2 J 79(3), ADM.

saying that Adèle is in great spirits, is delighted with her *matrone*, the midwife, who continues to look after her, and has been given a clean bill of health by Dr. Mauricet, who sends his regards, along with those of Yvon's mother-in-law, who has not left her side. The mother then writes (a bit shakily, it is true), "Je t'aime à tout mon coeur et je t'embrasse un million de fois. Ton Félix et moi sommes à merveille ainsi que les petits compagnards. Adieu, ton amie Adèle."

Thus we visit a scene central in the lives of all families but rarely recorded in such detail (besides in fiction) for posterity. Already a sinecure is established for the newborn as he is engulfed in love from "all his uncles and aunts." Frail Cécile is proud to be the bearer of "this good news and you know my heart too well to doubt how much I share the joy that it will bring you." As a witness, she took part in the "feminine solidarity"[19] that always accompanied a birth—in this case, the midwife, her assistant, Adèle's servant Pélagie, and an in-law and neighbor—all rousted from bed in the dead of night. Adèle's third came quickly, and the newborn, bright-eyed and ravenous, settled into the routines of this world without incident. The naming process for a third child appears typical of the era. The mother and father have already agreed in general, though Adèle now makes the call, and the choice of names and godparents, previously discussed with all concerned (with the strong hand of Aunt Marie still present: one can hear her tell Adèle, "Don't forget my brother Félix even though you insist on choosing your own as godfather"), honors those not yet tapped, reaching back into the prior generation, but also (standard these days) her siblings as godparents.

Eugène, who had in fact written to Adèle the day after Félix was born with all kinds of advice about late pregnancy care, got the news in the afternoon mail on July 25. "My beloved, I received Cécile's letter just as I was sitting down to dinner. It filled me with joy, and if several brimful glasses of wine drunk to your health and that of our newborn by an entire corps of officers will make you get well quickly, I assure you that we have done our utmost. Your Félix has found a dwelling place long prepared in my heart, and far from crowding the place that you occupy, his arrival has made it even larger, if that is possible." No one mentions it, but there must have been a collective sigh of relief, since this was the first pregnancy in the family after the tragedy of Joséphine. Perhaps this explains the giddy tone of these exchanges.

Eugène reports, via Aunt Marie, that brother René is better and should soon be on his way to Vannes. His illness seems to have been largely due to fatigue, so a long rest among "his own" will be perfect. He then abruptly refers to the "brouhaha" surrounding René's acquisition of his Croix de Saint-Louis, about which we have only Eugène's cryptic lines: "Although the cross that he so justly has sought will serve as a strong antidote for his fatigue, I avow to you that the manner by which it was obtained takes away from its luster. If low dealings [*bassesses*] are to be rewarded by a decoration, one should complain loudly about it, for it has nothing in common with that to which we give the names bravery and honor." Although it is not clear what "low dealings" occurred, Eugène's harsh comments about Adèle's favorite brother's path to his prize may have stemmed in part from his irritation over the slow progress toward

19. The term is Jacques Gélis's in his *History of Childbirth*, trans. Rosemary Morris (Oxford, 1991), 99.

his own, where influence, after all, was operating as well. He tells two more stories, one about a missed promotion which he blames on the candidate's wife for failing to make contacts on her husband's behalf in a timely manner because she wanted him to retire, the other the undeserved promotion of an "imbecile" whose wife had "rendered services" to a superior officer. Such tales reveal that merit was hardly the only criterion for reward in the military, but one wonders if their telling was appropriate in a letter to a wife who had just joyfully given birth. He returns to the usual words of love and advice, but this was a man full of resentment and anxiety.

The arrival of Félix, whom his brother, then five, remembered lying in "my cradle" as he gave him his first kiss,[20] marked the last peaceful moment in the most frantic year of this family's history. It started serenely enough, as Adèle sends her first full letter on August 1:

> I couldn't feel better, my love, after four days. The weakness has gone away. I have a better appetite and get up at the break of day. Your Félix does well with all his little functions. He sleeps well enough at night, and his mama profits from the permission he gives her to get some sleep that restores her [milk] completely. He's not without colic. The poor little one has a good case of it, but orange flower and a little sugared wine do their work and relieve him. René and Cécile are just fine. Jenny will come to take them for a visit on Thursday. It will be two weeks since my delivery and I will be able for the most part to return to my household routine.

Adèle is also overjoyed at the arrival of her brother René, with whom she will share dinner tonight and knows that the food and the "air of Brittany" will soon restore good health. There is a slight note of disquiet about the "irresolution" of Eugène's circumstances for the coming winter, but the only thing that would make her any happier would be to have him there by her side. Other letters that August reflect the same inner satisfaction and their hopes for the future as their family of healthy and bright children grows in every way each day.

20. René Galles, "Journal," 1:30.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Guadeloupe

For Adèle and Eugène, in September 1824 their world changed. Eugène's letter of the fourth eased into the topic. He was writing late at night after the last rounds of the ramparts of Valenciennes. He had already written Galles that he would be moving to Le Havre on September 8 and was not sure exactly where his regiment would end up, nor did he discuss the implications of the move, quickly changing the subject to the recent visit of an inspector whom he knew from the royalist army of 1815. The inspection went well, and this man (not named, though now a general in the Royal Guard) thought highly of him then and now. Eugène was skeptical of his assertion that had the young hero joined his regiment back then, he would now be a *chef de bataillon*. Why? The vast majority of officers in the guard were "*gentilhommes* [and] would certainly have been promoted before me." Eugène's sense of class realities arises again.[1] Besides, his loyalty to General de Sol was unwavering. Continuing to avoid the subject of his redeployment, he was thrilled to hear from Aunt Marie (who else?) that Jean-Marie Galles would soon be announcing his engagement to Louise-Marie Saint of Auray.

Writing again the next morning, Eugène has now heard that his destination will probably be Brest. He hypothesizes that since Brest is the major port for military traffic between France and Spain, the latter might be his eventual destination. But he tells Adèle that she need not worry. Hostilities have ended and his regiment is unlikely to be shipped out at all. Still, the words that follow reflected his own unease:

> Galles has passed on several details about your St. Louis [her brother René: jealousy?] and spoke to me about the timidity of your son; you will never make a warrior of him, and, between us, that's fine. But, God willing, in the absence of courage let him have the force of character that we need in so many circumstances in life and that helps us get past the evils that befall us. Our poor children will experience many disappointments in the course of their lives. . . . [L]et us hope that they do not outnumber the portions of happiness that are also reserved for each who ascends to his or her destiny. Tenderly embrace these dear children for me; speak of me often so that they don't forget to love me as I love

1. On the Royal Guard and its reputation, see Douglas Porch, *Army and Revolution in France, 1815–1848* (London, 1974), 30–33.

> them, indeed almost as much as you, my Adèle. If we go to Brest, I'll not tarry to seek the happiness of all your kisses; it's a need my heart feels growing each day.

Clearly Eugène was moved to think in larger terms of the hazards that life presents as he pondered the immediate future. But whatever happened, he at least would have some unexpected time with his family. He signs off in particularly powerful and previously unused language, anticipating the probable impact of this letter: "Je t'aime, mon ange chérie, et t'embrasse de toute la tendresse de mon âme. Pour la vie, ton Eugène."

For her part, Adèle could not be mollified. She had heard from other sources that Captain Galles's destination was becoming increasingly certain. "How the torments and anxieties have multiplied in our house since your letter! My heart is constricted, my head is spinning." His assurances that he will not go to "those dreadful colonies" have rung hollow. Even his return to Brittany, "which should be my sovereign joy, has only increased my unhappiness. Oh, my love, don't let me die a million leagues from you!" Aunt Marie is "losing courage: could there be malevolence in what is going on today? When will they stop persecuting a family always so dedicated to France despite injustices toward it?"[2] Although the war in Spain itself was virtually over, the tensions with Britain, which had not endorsed the French action on behalf of the Holy Alliance, remained strong, which meant, as always, potential conflict in the Caribbean. Moreover, instability in the Spanish colonies caused by the upheaval at home, plus the usual confrontations over Britain's opposition to the slave trade, made vigilance in France's remaining colonies a military priority. And the Forty-Eighth Regiment, of which Jean-Marie Le Ridant was now second in command, had achieved an enviable reputation and was thus a logical candidate for perilous duty. This was not on Adèle's mind, and indeed her suspicion of Ultra retribution may be given some credence, though it is not documented.[3] Jean-Marie Galles had gone to see their friend and Morbihan military chief General de Couaslin about a rumor that the Forty-Eighth would be divided in half, with four hundred men stationed in Vannes and the rest sent to Guadeloupe. "Galles found him," writes Adèle in the same letter, "having his beard trimmed; he had the air of total ignorance on the subject and moved the conversation on to other things." This simply added to their misery.

Eugène had not yet read this letter when he wrote from Évreux on the nineteenth. Although they had received no official orders, an officer coming from Paris confirmed that some of the Forty-Eighth were bound for Guadeloupe. Eugène notes that "notre bonne tante" is making the rounds in Paris on his behalf and, failing any positive result, he wonders if he should offer his resignation. He thinks, in any case, that only one battalion will be sent; and indeed, if luck goes against him, "one of my comrades, who wants to see the world, has already offered to take my place." And by the end of the

2. Adèle to Eugène, September 12, 1824, ADM, 2 J 79 (2). I will continue to cite the dates of letters in the text. His to her are in folder (1). Hers to him after September 21, 1824, have not survived, but his discussion of them fills in many blanks.

3. Such machinations would never be found in the public record, and no memoirs from the era relate to the Forty-Eighth, which, unlike many others, does not have an official history in print or manuscript deposited in the Bibliothèque nationale.

month, "I will have the joy of being in your arms and of kissing our beloved children." Eugène's positive tone contrasts enormously with Adèle's in part because he's trying to keep a stiff upper lip, but mainly because his information is less alarming than hers.

And apparently less *au courant*. On September 21 Adèle wrote: "The husband of a friend of mine in Vannes has written the following to his father-in-law: 'Go tell Madame Galles that it is certain that the regiment of her husband is going to embark either soon or in a few months. M. Galles should, as soon as possible, take the steps necessary to guard against that and these steps should aim at staying with the depot that will be in Vannes." General de Couaslin now confirmed this information. The writer from Rennes suggested that the best approach for assistance in Vannes would be via the colonels of the Forty-Eighth (including Uncle Ridant), who were soon to arrive there. Adèle also sent a letter to her stepmother in Paris urging her to visit Madame de Sérent in the hope that she might initiate counter-orders for her Eugène.

In the end, all was for naught. There still remained the possibility of replacement by the captain of another battalion, but since two of the three battalions of the regiment were slated for departure, this would work only if his potential substitute's battalion was to remain in Vannes. Eugène refused to exercise the option of resignation, no doubt in part because it would be viewed as cowardly, but mainly because his star as a leader was currently shining brightly. He enhanced it significantly just as the regiment was about to depart from Valenciennes. In his memoirs, his son René, using either a letter since discarded or information from a witness among his own colleagues, recounts the following story. The Forty-Eighth Infantry shared the garrison of Valenciennes with a regiment of hussars. The traditional rivalries between foot and horse had here exploded into full-blown antagonism. A recent duel had taken the life of a hussar, and to avenge themselves, cavaliers precipitated an assault on the infantrymen in the afternoon before the day the Forty-Eighth was to depart. Several of the latter were lightly wounded. Revenge was inevitable. Eugène, whose "presence of mind" was later praised by the inspector general, urged his superior officer to begin the departure immediately and march to a position well out of town to bed down before striking out to the west, a move that probably averted a bloodbath. Eugène still had a Croix de St. Louis and a *chef de bataillon* baton to achieve before he could retire, and accepting this new, potentially dangerous assignment could only raise his stock higher. And with his uncle in command, reports on his service in Guadeloupe would be as glowing as possible.

Eugène may have explained all this to Adèle if and when the promised visit occurred. The only reference to it at the time is her line at the top of his letter of September 29, cited by his son René in his "Journal": "Eugène arrived in Vannes on October 1; he left me on the sixth to go to Morlaix." This letter is not with the others in the Galles papers. Internal evidence in other letters, however, suggests that the stay had to have been earlier and very brief. Eugène wrote to Adèle on October 5 from Morlaix. There is no doubting the date because he adds to this letter the next morning, dated "the 6th." Moreover, unlike in any previous letter immediately following his departure, there are no warm words about their time together. It mainly concerns which transport ship he might take and when the departure would occur. More pertinently, he

remarks: "I pass my time in Morlaix sadly enough; it rains continually. *Two days ago*, an extraordinary reward, we actually saw the sun." He goes on to say that he took advantage of that rare moment to go on a hike to see the ominous castle of Taureau built on a rock in the bay—where he would "gladly be exiled for ten years" if he could have his wife and children with him. The tone is that of someone who has been there for a while. Did Adèle simply imagine the visit? The answer is certainly no. For one thing, her letters to him through September 21 exist. He always brought back her letters when he returned, which is why we have both sides of the correspondence. Hers after this point disappear. Eugène writes in his letter of October 5–6 that he did not think it possible for little René to come visit him before his departure because he might ship out at any moment, or for the entire family to join him in Guadeloupe (as Aunt Marie would with her husband) because of the threat of disease. This is not something broached in previous letters, so no doubt they discussed this in person. Finally, in a letter of November 6, 1831, to her son René, now away at school, Adèle mentions that little Félix enjoyed the caresses of his father for "only two days," definitive proof that Eugène had indeed returned home, in all likelihood, on September 30 (the day he had earlier mentioned). But the stay was frustratingly short and no doubt somber; hence the absence of the usual post-visit euphoria. The same letter of October 5–6 reveals that Eugène's tour of duty in Guadeloupe will likely be for two years, with only the vaguest prospect of a leave. If someone in Paris *was* punishing this family, certainly this would have been the way to do it.

Eugène's letters during October and November, though always loving, show the frustration of the uncertainty surrounding the regiment's departure date and concern over which frigate would transport them. This was compounded by the awful weather—it rained virtually every day—and dreadful living conditions in Morlaix. Although Eugène found an apartment owned by people on a long stay in the country, most of his fellow officers scrambled to locate a decent room of any sort, to say nothing of the men, who were spotted hither and yon in town and out. Morlaix, a commercial and fishing port, was hardly equipped for such an influx of unruly humanity, but it was less crowded than Brest. Captain Galles's letter of November 10 came at the nadir of grim times. With the "weathercock pointing permanently in the wrong direction," they were immobilized. Many of the men were ill, and five or six had died. The current commander, Villemorin, was on the verge of death. Colonel Le Ridant would soon be appointed overall commander of the expedition. Eugène's landlord was returning, so he would have to bunk with a fellow officer. Everything was a problem in "this ramshackle [*bicoque*] town, which has one inn, whose owner could not be more insolent." Forced to eat there for lack of an alternative, the officers put up with him for a while but finally told him off. His response was to serve the senior officers the same slop as the juniors. The filth of the place gave rise to certain comments about "our countrymen." Oh well, says Eugène, "we probably should get used to the bad meat," for he wasn't so certain that the food on *La Clorinde*, "along with everything else," would be quite as nice as "René assures us." At least it was now certain that they would be carried on the largest and best-equipped ship of the fleet, and, best news of all, Captain René Jollivet would be second in command. What's more, both their uncle and aunt would sail on the *Clorinde* as well.

By November, departure was becoming almost welcome. The troops were losing their discipline, the weather making regular exercises impossible. In consequence, there were the inevitable "abuses" against the townspeople. For Eugène, even "society" did not relieve the hassles of visiting the hospital and the prisons and looking after his men. The Demoiselles Lespinasse, "young and pretty" and friends of sister Aimée, had weekly soirées to which Eugène was invited. But he was little amused, moped about, and "must have been thought rather insipid." Still, this crisis in their lives would be bearable. He dreads their separation and his loneliness, but

> your letters will come to my rescue; the tenderness and concern of our good relatives will give me solace; we will speak of you, of my dear children, of all of you, of the happiness that awaits our return that will be hastened for us by your good wishes and they will slip away, those two sad years that I wish I could excise from my existence. Our attachment, the cause of our pain, will also be our strength, and if your Eugène will sigh after the happy moment when you will again give yourself to his love, it will be, my Adèle, to make up for all the sorrows that you have experienced for him. As we wait, my dearest angel, enjoy the happiness that will come to you from your children, the tenderness of our excellent father, the love of all our brothers and sisters who cherish you so tenderly; even though I'm not there, I will share this happiness, since, knowing that you are happy, I can't help but be so myself.

Eugène says he has full confidence in her rearing of their children: "Who else than you can inspire in them that elevation of sentiments that is the first germ of a *bonne éducation*." Above all,

> inspire in all three of them that mutual tenderness that will be for them such a great help in those painful moments that they will go through and of which we ourselves now feel the effects, for if I weren't as sure as I am of the attachment of all our brothers and sisters, what greater pain would there be for me, my Adèle, than to leave you among indifferent persons who, not sharing my tenderness for you, would not empathize with the sorrow you are suffering. Fortunately we have nothing to fear on that score and this is my greatest consolation.

And so it is all about the sibling archipelago. The children are to be instilled with the same sibling love that Eugène and Adèle have experienced. They thus will have the emotional and practical support to endure the turns of fate, just as now she will have "dear Cécile especially, Galles, Fanny, Yvon, Jenny, and Françoise" at her side in Vannes. The order is probably worth noting, and indeed it is Adèle's cousins who are mentioned before her actual siblings. But in this family such distinctions meant little. For his part, Eugène will soon have the support of "our sister" Aimée, who is coming to Brest to be with him before the departure, "our brother" René during the journey, and of course his mother's (and Adèle's father's) sister Marie and Adèle's older brothers' mother's brother, Jean-Marie Le Ridant, as his companions in Guadeloupe.

The emotional significance of cousin marriage and sibling attachment could hardly be more clearly delineated. And all was fueled by that cardinal sentiment of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, more meaningful than love itself, *la tendresse*—a word used in this passage no fewer than four times.[4]

While the anxiety and soul-searching over the looming departure occupied most of Eugène's thoughts that autumn, he also expressed himself on matters that help define our families' place in their sociocultural universe. As we have seen, he was often given to didactic comment on family and society. So, for example, on October 26 he wrote: "I have heard people talk about this demoiselle Poulin who is marrying Latour. It appears to me . . . that their two characters scarcely match. I also think that he could have done better with regard to fortune." The Latour in question was Jean-Marie Plisson-Latour, nephew of Dr. Charles Latour, a friend and relative of the Jollivets, whose father had been a *négociant* and whose mother was a Housset. Like members of her family, the groom had an administrative post (*greffier* at the Tribunal de Police of Vannes). The marriage register (dated November 13) lists René Jollivet père as a witness along with Dr. Latour for the groom. The bride was in fact named Justine Poulain de la Fontaine. She was born in Compiègne (Oise) and currently lived in Saveney, between Nantes and Saint-Nazaire, where her father had been a state official. Her connection in Vannes was her sister, the wife of a minor official, Claude Merlet (a witness on her behalf), who together no doubt worked out the marriage. Despite Eugène's snide appraisal, this was a late first marriage for both (he was thirty-six and she twenty-nine), and if their "characters" weren't a perfect match and she not an heiress, they and their families surely rejoiced that they married at all. On paper, her background in fact seems pretty similar to his, and in looking at late marriages of this sort in Vannes's middle class, we find this one is typical. What probably rankled Eugène was that a relative of his family and Dr. Latour couldn't make a better match. His comments, however, perfectly articulate (negatively) the two key criteria of a good bourgeois marriage in this era: love *and* money.

Captain Galles also spoke of class and culture. In October he had a chance to go to Châteaulin to visit Aimée. His letter to Adèle, quoted at length by his son (and here), captures the view of urban French-speaking Bretons (at least those of some substance several generations removed from the countryside) of the world beyond their city walls. He is returning to Morlaix:

> The countryside that separates us from Châteaulin is awful; the roads are impracticable; I was on horseback and had a guide, who proceeded to get me lost. It took six hours, by abominable pathways, to find our route again; I was only three leagues from Châteaulin. At this point my guide abandoned me, and it was not without difficulty that I finally made it here across the Arrée Mountains. It was pouring down rain, but fortunately I had René's greatcoat. I found no one in the mountains who could give me directions. If I saw someone, he

4. As always, see above all the remarkable volume of Maurice Daumas, *La tendresse amoureuse* (Paris, 1998).

> fled at my approach or didn't understand me and stood there with his mouth open. Finally, through the driving rain and completely by accident, I ran across a cleared route and followed it in the direction of a bell tower I had heard. When I did finally see it, it was a pistol shot behind me.

Eugène thought about going on but decided that after nine hours on the road, his horse needed some oats. He returned to the little *bourg*, looking for an inn. He saw a *bureau de tabac*, where surely someone could speak French. Two young girls took one look at him and ran to hide under a staircase, but he managed to extract from a third "espèce de demoiselle" with shaking finger the location of a "caberet." Eugène could not help laughing at the "fright of these savages, but I would have laughed more if I had been able to see myself." He was soaked and covered with mud, the hood of his *chemise de bure* plastered down so he "looked like a mendicant monk," while his horse "had mud up to his breast." At the tavern he asked for oats, and a taciturn old woman, the only person there, led his mount to the stable.

> As for me, I moved toward the fire and tossed a log on and soon *ma vieille* was looking after her porridge. But since the smoke bothered me more than the fire warmed me, I went to the stable to see how my horse was doing with his meal. The poor wretch! I found him, head lowered, in what passed for a stall, its gate fortunately closed since he wasn't tied up; as for the oats, none was in evidence. I scolded the goodwife about it and she babbled [*baraguoinait*] something at me in Breton, at which point through the door came a peasant who, by his capable air, I took to be an official in the village. Indeed, it was M. *le maire*. He spoke French and *même très bien*. He served as my interpreter. It turned out that the inn had neither oats, nor straw, nor hay.

Eugène then discovered that before arriving here he had been going away from Morlaix, turned around in the absence of the sun to guide him. And no road went from this village to his destination, so he must go to Plounehour [today Plounéour], a league away, and then take a direct, and "not bad," road to Morlaix. "As for that from here to Plounehour, I'm not sure you can get there on horseback—there are only mountain paths." The story continues:

> I had no choice. He pointed the direction I had to take, and there I was still in the rain. After half an hour, I found a few huts nestled in the mountains. I headed toward them shouting Plounehour! Plounehour! The peasants showed me my route and I realized that, for once, I was going the right way. I risked letting it be known that I might be lost, but I put on my best imitation of a highwayman [*tournure de brigand*], which I hoped would encourage them to think more about taking refuge than of attacking me. I have no idea how my steed and I made it along those gravelly paths and maneuvered by the outcroppings, but the poor animal seemed to be as afraid of staying in those mountains overnight as I. Finally I saw the bell tower of blessed Plounehour, where I soon arrived without incident.

> Here the mayor was the innkeeper and he had plenty of oats. I had to content myself with bread and butter, and with wine that was not too bad. The innkeeper was impressed by the path I had taken. "Where were you coming from?" he asked. "From Châteaulin." "But the route from Châteaulin is in the opposite direction from where you came." "I know well, but I got lost in the mountains and went through Piscard." "Piscard? I don't know that place." "But yes; it's a *bourg* one league from here; and I know the name for sure, because I read it above the door of city hall: Mairie de Piscard." My host began to laugh. "But that's Comena; it's the mayor who's named Piscard." *Je reconnus mon homme capable*.
>
> But the rain had stopped; I was as well refreshed as I could be, my horse as well; I got all the information I possibly could to avoid losing my way again and was once more en route. I finally arrived in wretched Morlaix; I took twelve hours to make those last nine leagues from hell. My guide took much longer; he didn't arrive until ten the next morning.

As usual, Eugène shows his talents as a raconteur, and, as his son remarks, succeeds "in making his beloved smile."[5] His horse almost steals the show, reminding us of scenes from *Don Quixote* or from the adventures of Ichabod Crane. And he makes good fun of himself as well. But obviously the main subjects of ridicule are the Breton-speaking "savages," who, like wild animals, disappear into the gorse or dart beneath the stairwell at the sight of a "bourgeois" (as the Breton country folk called all town dwellers well into the twentieth century),[6] and an army officer to boot; who "babble" in their own language and look dumbfounded upon hearing French; and who surprise monsieur when they speak that language passably. Eugène probably never reflected on the fact that his two mayors were linguistically more talented than he (unless one counts his schoolboy Latin and a smattering of German). Instead he offers us a bit of Balzacian humor about the pretensions of the *coq du village*, his "homme capable," who plasters his own name above the door to city hall. And he's even astonished that the wine out here in the wilds is "not bad." (Eugène regularly comments on the wine, wherever he dines, one of the classic traits of the proper bourgeois.)

The attitudes expressed in this luminous tale evoke one of the hallmarks defining the provincial bourgeoisie, and one, in fact, that distinguishes them from the aristocracy. Though aspiring to their country house and treating their own tenant farmers with respect, they imagined the rural world (from which many of their families had only recently emerged) as something bordering on the jungle, its inhabitants Calibans who jabber in undecipherable tongues and, if they should venture into civilized language, speak it laughably. To be bourgeois was to speak good French and shed the patois that marked your origins. Such attitudes produced estimates of the capabilities

5. René Galles, "Journal," 1:32–35.

6. Pierre-Jakez Hélias, *The Horse of Pride: Life in a Breton Village*, trans. June Guichanaud, (New York, 1975), passim.

(Eugène chose his word well) and the potential of the French peasantry during the first half of the nineteenth century that severely skewed both political and economic thought across the ideological spectrum, from Tocqueville to Marx, and led policy away from their inclusion in any roadmap for reform. Such estimates have also been taken at face value by many historians (again on right and left), equally skewing the chronology of economic development and of the growth of democracy owing to the assumption that most peasants were amenable to neither and had to await the magic tonic of "republican education" ministered from on high for redemption.[7] Parisian bourgeois, more self-assured, were already beginning to romanticize their rural roots (while perhaps remaining disdainful of those people left behind), a passion that by the twentieth century would lead them not only to seek vacation homes in their ancestors' villages but also to lodge an aspect of their identity in "mon Saintonge" and so on.[8] Aristocrats, especially during the Restoration, and even more so after 1830, glorified their own rurality and fabricated visions of paternal bonds with the solid, tradition-soaked tillers of their soil. In Brittany, the reinstitution of notions of noblesse oblige was all the stronger, given the mutual blood spilled in the Chouan wars. Their writers venerated Breton and its speakers (while happily collecting their rents) and would later fight tooth and nail to prove, unsuccessfully, that the ancient stone formations that dotted the land were Celtic in origin. Their principal adversaries on this intellectual battleground would be precisely those bourgeois of Vannes, led by Eugène's brother Jean-Marie, his son René, and his nephew Louis, who, with rigorous scientific method and impeccable French, destroyed their claims. We will revisit this drama later.[9]

Eugène, of course, also served France. The forbearance that he displays throughout the correspondence from "wretched Morlaix" attests to his loyalty to his nation and his profession. He appears every inch the honorable soldier. As we know, two out of the three battalions in readiness would go. But alas, "I have just learned our destiny, my beloved Adèle. . . . They put three rolled-up cards in a hat, on two of which was written 'battalion departing.' Each *Chef de Bataillon* drew one in turn. It's the first battalion that was favored. (The officer who would have replaced me was in the third.) Courage, my cherished Adèle, courage. Help me have it too. In our sorrow, think about the fact that I will be with our excellent relatives."

And so the course was finally set. Eugène would ship out on December 3 with René Jollivet on the bridge and with aunt and uncle Le Ridant on board, the latter the commander of the expedition. His letter "à bord de la Clorinde" on the fifth, as it stood in the *rade de Brest* waiting for favorable winds, will be his last from France. He is privileged to have a little cabin of his own directly across from René's and is the only

7. This attitude is clearly reflected (rather uncritically) in Eugen Weber's *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford, 1986).

8. Stéphane Gerson, *Pride of Place: Local Memories and Political Culture in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, NY, 2003).

9. See Christopher H. Johnson, "Class Dimensions of Blood, Kinship, and Race in Brittany, 1780–1880," in *Kinship and Blood: Representations from Ancient Times to the Present* (New York, 2013); and my discussion in chapter 10.

officer, other than the *chefs* and his uncle, to have such accommodations. The others sleep in hammocks in the officers' dining room and have to dismantle their beds each morning. The food is excellent and abundant. He ate at the captain's table the night before and is happy to say that the food at his own is just as good. And he's pleased with the quality of the wine.

His main purpose in this letter is to leave her with the indelible imprint of his love. Central is this: "Let us think, as you have said, about the happy moment when I will return to your arms. [I]t will be for me a new June 10; all my thoughts will gravitate toward it; my imagination will lead me always to you and our dear children, I will be smothered in advance by your kisses and mine lavished on you; this image of happiness will take the place of happiness in reality. And if sadness should overcome me, I can go to our good mother [Aunt Marie] and, speaking of you, she will give me courage." Eugène projects, again, a perfect image of what the written word can perform: "I will write you and tell you all my thoughts; you will read my heart as if I am close to you; whatever sadness you may see is only a sign of how much I love you, how much your *tendresse* is necessary to my existence. Yes, my beloved, it's not enough to say that I love you more than my life; all the faculties of my soul involve you, and the sentiments that you inspire in me are more fundamental to my life than the air that I breathe." He then reiterates the constant theme of the role of all their brothers and sisters, aunts and uncles, in providing the love and support they both will need to endure their separation. Conjugal love and sibling love intertwine. He concludes with his joy at seeing Aimée, who will be with him until he leaves and whose place in the complex new world of cousin- and sibling-based kinship personifies its meaning.

Adèle and Eugène's correspondence from now on would be much delayed, depending on the vagaries of the military and merchant marine whose vessels called at Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe's principal town. Adèle dated the reception of his letters; usually it took about two months for them to arrive. They agreed that he would number them in case any went missing.

La Clorinde departed Brest on December 10, 1824, and arrived in Guadeloupe on January 19. The crossing was completely uneventful, with no more than "a quarter of an hour of bad weather." The calm seas in fact made the trip longer than usual. Nevertheless, few of the land soldiers, including Uncle Ridant and Aunt Marie, were exempt from seasickness. Only Eugène and one other officer made the entire voyage without incident. He rather enjoyed the trip, never having sailed on the high seas before, but as they approached the Antilles, the heat became oppressive—so much so that he could not be on the bridge at midday. The only relief came after sundown, and he found himself staying up late to enjoy the cool breezes and the dance of moonlight on the water. Sleeping belowdecks became problematic—despite his private "boite"—as 380 men sucked up the humid air, leaving most of them breathless. In the last days before arrival, his narrow bed was soaked in sweat each night. He wrote Adèle on the eighteenth, as they approached their destination, sighting Domingue (Dominica today) first, then Martinique, and finally, as the ship turned north, Guadeloupe. Despite the high temperatures (for a Breton who had never been south, the heat must have been a shock), he writes, "Don't worry about my health; it's never been better." His battalion would stay in Basse-Terre, while the other would be distributed elsewhere.

Eugène's weekly letters from Guadeloupe in the beginning largely express concern about their transmission and the reception of Adèle's. He had never experienced significant uncertainty in this regard. Although he tries to hide it, he is clearly very homesick. He explodes with joy when his cousin René returns unexpectedly on February 20. He talks constantly about the children, but with only one letter yet from Adèle, has little to counsel her about. The first month seemed like an eternity. Three-quarters of the way through his letter of February 19 (his first after her first to him), he remarks favorably on the appointment of their uncle Alexis Le Ridant to the Vannes city council, a move orchestrated by the moderate royalist Margadal. Eugène imagines Adèle by the fireside reading the newspaper and exchanging barbs with Cécile, "our family Ultra." He talks a bit of Guadeloupe and the military situation, which has settled out owing to an agreement between the French and the English over the restoration of Spain's sovereignty in its colonies. Their job will simply be to guard Guadeloupe. He has hiked in the hinterland and likes it, all in assuring Adèle that the snakes and vermin are less dangerous than on Martinique. He also notes that her concern, caused by an earlier report from someone else about his ill health, is completely unfounded.

By late March, Adèle's letters begin to arrive regularly, relieving Eugène's anguish. Knowing that she and the family are well, he writes a good deal more about the island. He is surprised at the "nonchalance" of the Creoles at the approach of storms and high wind, for hurricanes have taken their toll in the past. Having ventured out more into the area around Basse-Terre, he's impressed not only with the physical beauty of the rolling hills and the lush vegetation but also with the "pretty houses" of the colonials. But on one trip with his uncle, reported on March 31, 1825, he observes a plantation and its large slave population. It is government owned and leased out to a steward. Contrary to official propaganda, Eugène does not believe that slaves are better treated on such plantations than on private ones. For

> there, as elsewhere, I saw the driver armed with his big whip; on no plantation have I seen the negroes in such tatters; some were absolutely nude, others with ill-fitting trunks, and still others with loincloths. There is a poor little devil here . . . who is the son of a king of a clan [*peuplade*] in the Congo. [In sending off slaves in his possession] the king had contracted with a slave ship captain to take this boy, then six or seven, to Europe to learn French. A royal frigate intercepted the ship, believed to be illicit, and the poor little prince has come to pursue his education at the St. Charles plantation.

Eugène is shocked at the injustice of this situation and hopes that "someone" will purchase the boy and manumit him back to his father. He goes on to tell of another boy, a house slave learning to be a *chef de cuisine*, who is also the son of a king. He was charged by his father to deliver several of their own slaves for sale, but was taken by another duplicitous slaver. He intrigues Eugène because he will take orders from no other slave and only grudgingly from his mistress. As with the Congolese boy, he wonders if the lad will ever be able to return. After apologizing to Adèle for going on so long about *les nègres*, he talks of the heat and the monotony of his work, only to return to them after a few lines. He tells her of their dancing and processions and of a

"purification" ceremony at the river followed by a rhythmic routine "which is not the most decent."

It is obvious that Eugène was fascinated by the world of the island's largest population. He humanizes slaves with his stories of individuals, albeit very special ones. He takes slavery in Africa for granted and clearly understands how most slaves entered the trade: sold by kings (no doubt largely as prisoners of war). His language grants African states a political life not dissimilar to that anywhere else. His tone throughout is one of disapproval of the entire institution of slavery and French involvement in it. And he saves his special disdain for his employer, the government of his king. The critique of the state-owned St. Charles plantation is withering, as is his estimate of the crown's tolerance of the slave trade. As a native of Vannes, he knew well the role of many of its merchants and seamen in the trade and had no doubt seen an occasional African there or in Lorient, Nantes, and Paris. Although he says that some of their dancing and parades would "make you laugh," there is little condescension in his language. Captain Galles counted Africans in and bemoaned their fate.

He also had the opportunity to witness firsthand the entire process of sugar production, an elaborate operation entirely manned by slaves. (Unfortunately, he does not actually describe it for Adèle.)[10] His host, a private owner who greeted him on the manor house veranda overlooking a sweeping lawn where his children were playing "tout nus" with five or six "petits négres," was a delightful man whose plantation was a model of efficiency with excellent living and working conditions for the bondsmen. Its setting stunned Eugène with its beauty, amid rolling hills with wide valleys for cane growing. This letter, of May 31–June 1, finds Eugène increasingly relaxed in his new environment, settling in and attempting to enjoy himself, though he still frets about the irregularity of the mail. For example, he does not appear to know that Fanny's husband, Henri Pavin, had died after a long illness on February 26, 1825, leaving three children only a few years older than his own.

His brief letter on their anniversary floods him with bittersweet thoughts: "But what a difference, my Adèle, between the June 10 of today and that of then! On this day I rediscover the depth of my love for you; that at least will never leave me. How very empty this sad bed seems, especially this evening; I will find only memories here; but can I complain when they are as sweet as mine? At this moment, my beloved wife, I know you are also thinking of your friend and in spite of the enormous distance that separates us, our two souls merge." And there's more still to bind them together, for their "cher René" will now be stationed permanently in Basse-Terre, as he has taken command of a gunboat (*La Rose*) assigned to local maneuvers. Indeed, the three relatives will often cruise together on abbreviated outings along the shores. With Aunt

10. On sugar production and its significance in world history, see Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York, 1985). On the history of Guadeloupe, see, in a large literature, Christian Schnakenbourg, *Histoire de l'industrie sucrière en Guadeloupe aux XIXe et XXe siècles* (Paris, 1980); Michel Rodigneaux, *La guerre de course en Guadeloupe, XVIIIe–XIXe siècles, ou Alger sous les tropiques* (Paris, 2006); Anne Pérotin-Dumon, *La ville dans l'île: Basse-Terre et Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe, 1650–1820* (Paris, 2000); Oruno Lara, *La Guadeloupe dans l'histoire: La Guadeloupe physique, économique, agricole, commerciale, financière, politique et sociale, 1492–1900*, new ed. (Paris, 1999).

Marie there to oversee entertainment and to share her vast correspondence, the scent of home is always with him.

Writing the following morning (August 31, 1825), ever the counselor, he is full of advice to pass along to Fanny (for a recent letter had apprised him of Pavin's passing), who seems to have been left in difficult financial straits; is sorry to learn (via their aunt) that sister Marie-Louise is not well; and approves of the employer Pélagie's brother has contracted with. Adèle and the children, meanwhile (we learn from a later letter), had moved temporarily into a house in Arradon, not far from Truhélin, while waiting for repairs to be made at the Maison Chalmel (which, it will be recalled, she had written Eugène about leasing). They were all pleased with the location of the Chalmel house in the central city, especially because Alexis and Virginie Le Ridant lived right across the street. All this had been precipitated by Jean-Marie Galles's decision to remarry and to convert Adèle's apartment into living space for his new family, God willing. His fiancée was named Louise-Marie Saint (whose surname René Galles, in his memoirs, thought described her perfectly), a twenty-six-year-old from Auray and a cousin by marriage of Jean-Marie's late wife, Joséphine. Whether or not there was a connection, Joséphine's mother, Madame Le Monnier, who had behaved so possessively with the sickly infant after her daughter's death, decided at this time to spend the rest of her years at a convent in Redon. Eugène, always ready to offer an opinion, believed that "her distance from her own . . . will soon make her lose her resolve." The summer stay close to their grandparents (and Aunt Cécile with them) delighted young René and his sister, and promenades with baby Félix would be all the healthier. Eugène could easily visualize his family's summer pleasures. It was almost as if he were there.

Almost. On August 7, 1825, Eugène notes that the week before, he had written twice, their aunt once, and René once as well, so that "everyone will learn of our news at the same time that the newspapers will inform you of the disaster that has just ravaged this colony about which anything they say will only give you an inadequate idea. For twelve days we have been witness to so grievous a spectacle that we can hardly render an account of it ourselves. To tell the truth: there are only ruins." On July 26 a horrific hurricane had struck the southern part of the island dead-on. Eugène tries to come to terms with its magnitude. Of nine hundred houses in Basse-Terre, perhaps ten escaped undamaged, and most were obliterated. The latest body count put the death toll in the town alone at 150. In one multi-dwelling structure, there were nineteen cadavers. After the winds and rain, torrents of water slammed down from the mountains above, and the main river swept away "men, horses, cows, debris from houses, entire trees." Eugène follows with a number of individual stories of tragedy and heroism, along with an account of the appalling situation at the small hospital (which had miraculously remained standing), with the news that the army "camp no longer exists" and with the simple fact that everything—food, clothing, military equipment, bandages—is soaked and mostly ruined. Mud and sand fill every crevice and entire houses. And ominously, "mosquitoes, until now not very bothersome, have become really annoying," especially in the absence of netting, which disappeared in the torrent.

As for Eugène and his uncle and aunt, who were living in the "officers' pavilion" in the upper city, their survival was made possible by the sturdy walls of the nearby

parish church. Initially, they and a dozen other officers and their servants assembled on the ground floor of their building, assuming that the well-built wooden structure would hold together. Though the doors and windows were barred and shuttered throughout, blasts of wind opened them up and began to tear off the roof and destabilize the ceiling. Uncle Ridant ordered everyone into the courtyard and, together with "the negroes," they made a human chain that staggered out into the street and to the church. There they crouched against the walls until the storm subsided. They lost virtually all their effects. Eugène lamented his books, especially his volumes of Racine (how family reading habits had changed!). In the aftermath, American merchants arrived in large numbers with wood and materials for rebuilding "that they sell at excessively high prices," though the prices of basic foods, mostly from Point-à-Pitre in the north, were kept in check by local officials.[11]

As if all this were not enough, Eugène, though overjoyed at René's promotion to ship's commander (fortunately his vessel was far out to sea on the twenty-sixth), reports that his own is not likely to come soon. He has many good people working on his behalf, including his old commander of 1815, General de Sol, and still believes that the minister of war, Clermont-Tonnère, with whom his aunt spoke directly in Paris the previous year, is still well disposed toward him. But there remain several captains with greater seniority than he, and the politics of his family does not help. So he is less than "gay" at the moment. "Only your letters," he says as usual, will help the waterlogged state of depression in which he finds himself.

Little did Adèle know, as she read this letter on November 19, that a second disaster had already struck. In his letter of August 31, Eugène calculated that given the two-to-three-month delay of his letters, by the time she read this one, nine months of their separation would have passed, "a third of our time deducted. And what should put you at ease is that all four of us here are in good health, better than in France." He goes on to speculate in some detail about the amount of money he will be able to save before his tour is over, though he notes that "Mr. le lieutenant de vaisseau commandant" will probably save twice as much. It appears that they are planning to become co-proprietors of the entire Chalmel house. He also discusses ways Adèle can contribute to the joint venture. In other news, he rejoices that an American brig that was swept out of the Basse-Terre bay during the storm turned up off St. Thomas without serious losses. It has also been rumored that Cuba has declared its independence from Spain and seeks to come under French protection. Eugène is dismayed: "As far as I'm concerned, I think we already have enough colonies like that and I would gladly have them all sink to the bottom of the sea." No equivocation here!

This is the only clear indication of the disquiet that in fact had settled over Guadeloupe. Although the storm's aftermath may have exacerbated it, the mosquito-borne pestilence known as yellow fever was already making its way south from Point-à-Pitre in June and by this moment had arrived at Basse-Terre. Eugène never mentions it in his correspondence, nor did the others. In the end, it carried away more than half of

11. Eugène Galles's description of this catastrophe, too long to reproduce here, will surely interest historians of the Caribbean and its weather.

the Forty-Eighth of the line, 657 men, of whom 22 were officers. Captain Eugène Félix Galles was among them. He had been informed shortly before he fell ill that his promotion to *chef de bataillon* had been approved.[12]

The official date was October 7, 1825, although his death was not actually registered in Vannes until a year later, a gap not dissimilar to the conveyance of his brother Bertin's *acte de décès*.[13]

The arrival of the unthinkable news in Vannes, shortly before Christmas, came first in letters from Marie Le Ridant to Jean-Marie Galles and from René Jollivet to his brother Yvon. It was a day René Galles, then seven, would never forget.

> My sister Cécile and I were dining at the home of that excellent Virginie Le Ridant. As young as I was, I noticed that the dinner, usually so gay, was sad; M. Alexis and his wife looked at each other from time to time in silence and their eyes seemed wet with tears. Suddenly the door to the dining room opened and a servant from our house [across the street] (not Pélagie) said: "Madame, I've come to get the children, for you know, Monsieur is dead."
>
> Ah! how I immediately understood the horrible truth! I screamed, "Papa, Papa!"
>
> Ah! I still see my stricken mother lying on the floor in the middle of her bedroom, her long hair undone. My uncle Galles and my uncle Yvon were there. They had come together to announce the terrible and crushing news. My aunt Cécile led us away.[14]

Aunt Marie now had to write Adèle, but she waited long enough to make certain that the news had already been broken to her by her cousin-brothers. Her letter is dated October 22, 1825. It is a letter from a mother to her daughter. "Weep, my child, weep! You have lost the best husband who ever existed on this earth. You were the soul of his thoughts; he spoke this dear name with an air so tender, so sweet that it seemed to console his poor heart. My own was torn to shreds, my dear Adèle, but in my deepest grief, I still gave thanks to heaven that his death came so quickly and without great suffering." Marie says that they all took the precautions counseled by the attending physicians, but both Eugène and her husband came down with the fever. Jean-Marie Le Ridant recovered after "eight days of misery." One can imagine her state of mind during those long hours, but she does not remark on it. Instead, she writes only about their rage over the loss of their shining hero: "I can hardly find the words to tell you of my profound sorrow, but to paint for you that of your uncle would be infinitely more difficult." He has lost "his son" and has wept for days.[15]

But her letter also contained something besides consolation. Though she asks Adèle to keep it a secret (from the children as well), she and her husband have de-

12. Marie Le Ridant to Jean-Marie Galles, December 6, 1825, ADM, 2 J 81.
13. État civil, décès, 1826, ADM.
14. René Galles, "Journal," 1:42.
15. ADM, 2 J 81.

cided to leave all their assets to René, Cécile, and Félix and to look after the children's education during their own lifetimes.

In a later letter (February 24, 1826), written after she had received one from Adèle, whose desolation was total, she reminds her niece-daughter that Eugène lives on in the children and counts on her to fulfill their dreams for them. His soul and hers are still united and will work together. Aunt Marie then tells the story of a widowed free black woman with three children whose husband had been a musician. Her will was almost broken by his loss, but she persevered and with the help of her extended family is now doing well as a retail merchant. This clearly was an object lesson (again we must be amazed at the total lack of racism in her tone), especially since "your children are not so unfortunate." Adèle must have sounded almost suicidal (forgetting her own outrage a few years earlier at the young father who killed himself after the death of his wife), for Uncle Le Ridant added a few lines at the end—our only sample of his writing—counseling "courage": "You know that you have become all the more necessary for your little children. Preserve yourself for them. I embrace them as well as you, whom I love and will always love with the deepest affection." This letter also invited Adèle to go to live at Pont-Sal whenever she felt ready. The children love it and will be able to romp and play in the fresh air. Moreover, she could sublet the apartment in the Maison Chalmel without having to return to her quarters chez Galles, which would be filled with so many memories of her Eugène.

But memories also console, and none were more precious than those preserved in his hand. As time passed, how often would Adèle reread those letters that she felt blessed to possess, letters in which his humor, his talent as a raconteur, his political insight, his ethics, his detailed instructions on prenatal care and child rearing, his engagement of her interests, his willingness to share his disappointments and misgivings about himself, his ability to caress her with words of solace when she was depressed, and his boundless love for *son Adèle* would speak to her every day. Thus might she survive.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Chosen

Educating René

René Galles's manuscript "Journal" guides us through the years when letters are sparse, before his mother's to him at school begin in 1829. His memories from the period after his father's death are vivid. It was a time, as one might imagine, of intense bonding between him, his siblings, and their mother, as "she hid her tears beneath her kisses."[1]

Pont Sal

Overall, these were years of happiness for the children. The trauma of losing their father was no doubt quickly repaired, given their ages and his previous long absences; Félix did not know him at all. They all lived at Pont-Sal, though Uncle Ridant was rarely there, especially after he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1827, and Marie stayed with her husband in Paris more than with them. Aunt Cécile was also with them and provided a calm presence and moral sustenance. Adèle "adored living in the country and we children loved everything that she loved" (2:2). The "château" seemed enormous to the children, though it is in fact rather modest in scale. But the grounds were (and are) extensive,[2] allowing the three of them to explore far and wide, all the more so in those days because the contiguous leaseholds were populated by friendly tenant families.

René had his lessons to do, and Adèle was his teacher. Although she made him work hard, especially on his grammar and writing (which he believed initiated his lifelong "taste for literature"), and followed a schedule "rigorously," she stressed "self-education" with plenty of free time for adventure. Cécile and Félix would follow the same pattern in due course. This was the way that she and her siblings and cousins had been brought up, and Adèle wanted her children "to be as happy as she."[3] On Sundays they went to mass at Plougoumelen, the seat of their commune, a half league to the south through the rolling countryside. Sunday afternoon was the ideal

1. René Galles, "Journal," 2:5, hereafter cited parenthetically in the text by part and page.

2. I had the pleasure of visiting with the current owners, the Bardets, on two occasions, in 2000 and 2003, and lived close by in a *gîte rurale* chez les soeurs Offredo in the summer of 2003, so I got to know both the house and the area roundabout in some detail. My thanks to both families for their hospitality and their knowledge. The château is pictured, virtually unchanged since since 1826, in figure 6.

3. No doubt the influence of Rousseau was afoot, though in these families girls were included too. *Émile* had been required reading since its publication, and they were hardly the only royalists infected by the vision.

time for hunting *cèpes*, their mother's culinary "passion." They often visited Truhélin, but never used the fancy open *calèche verte;* their vehicle instead was the reliable *carriole*, guided by their graying white horse, "considerably older than the carriage." Their uncle René, who spent much time with them when he was not at sea and who gave Adèle the comfort that only a favorite brother could provide, was the driver of choice. The roads in Arradon were so bad that they would all have to "shift left! shift right!" to keep from tipping over (2:3–4).

Life at Pont-Sal gravitated toward Auray, which was much closer than Vannes. Besides, the relatives in the capital relished the chance to come visit them in their sylvan setting. For Adèle, Auray connections had always been significant. She had been born in the château of Pléssis-Kaër and baptized there by a nonjuring priest, and her mother's family, the Marquers, were old-stock Auray. Aimée's husband's family was as well, and Jean-Marie Galles's first and (soon-to-be) second wives were Auray cousins already connected by marriage to the Le Ridants. René Galles recalled that his mother's best friends then (and later) were Aurésiens all: Madame Colonel Bosquet, whose house on the river at Saint-Goustan he loved to visit, and that "trio singulier"—Gertrude Kerdu, "fervent royalist, having played an admirable role of self-sacrifice after the Quiberon affair in 1795," who remained unmarried; the latter's "ami," Monsieur Fougeré, to whom she had been attached for years after he was refused in marriage by the parents of "his true love, Mlle. de M***"; and Manon Savantier, Henri's cousin, "worthy girl, but as ugly as one could be in this world" (2:4). And of course the clan from Vannes and Truhélin visited often. Besides brother René, there were Zuma and Yves Jollivet, Virginie and Alexis Le Ridant, and Adèle's sisters. Little René especially loved his young aunt Marie, who would put on plays with the children for everyone gathered in the drawing room. Their favorite was to act out *The Swiss Family Robinson* while thinking about their far-flung relatives at sea, in Réunion and in the Antilles (and perhaps about the fates of Bertin and Eugène).

One day in 1826, René met l'Aurésienne Louise Saint, the fiancée of Jean-Marie Galles, who came from Vannes to present her to the assembled family. "Et quelle belle sainte!" René was transfixed then and remained so. "Loved by all in the family, she became a constant and devoted friend of my mother" (2:5). The couple married toward the end of the year, on December 16. Although it was becoming increasingly common, religious conservatives would remark upon marriage during Advent. It is obvious that neither Galles, Freemason and geologist, nor his saintly bride was much concerned about that; their beliefs were consonant with the moderate Catholicism of the rest of the family. Louise, born in Auray in 1800, was the daughter of Louis Augustin Laurent Saint, a modest landowner and a *commis adjoint des Impôts indirectes*, a salaried position producing a decent income, and of Anne Marie Vial. The latter was a sister-in-law of Joséphine Le Monnier's unpleasant mother, making Jean-Marie's two wives cousins by marriage. He himself was a second cousin of each, again by marriage, via the Le Monnier–Le Ridant marriage a generation earlier. They had thus all three been in the same familial/social galaxy that brought them together at balls, soirées, baptisms, weddings, and funerals on a regular basis. The civil ceremony took place in Vannes, witnessed by Adèle's brothers Yves and René for Galles and Louise's paternal uncle François and her mother's brother-in-law Jean-François Le Bouleis, both from

Auray, whose professions were not listed, meaning no doubt that they "lived on their incomes" from annuities, land, or both.[4] In short, her people were comfortable and respectable *moyen bourgeois*. It was not an "advantageous" marriage for Jean-Marie Galles, but it seems to have been a "guided love" match of the type to which we have become accustomed in this milieu. What he needed now was a stable and contented home life with a compatible person of wit, grace, and intellect. If his nephew René is a reliable witness, he got what he desired.

The year 1826 also saw the founding of another sort of union, first proposed by Jean-Marie Galles and embraced by a number of Vannes's prominent civic-minded intellectuals: the Société polymathique du Morbihan, a learned society that would go on to national recognition, in part thanks to the next generation of Galles, René himself and Jean-Marie's son Louis.[5] The happy coincidence of these two events laid the basis for a life of purpose and satisfaction for the Galles family's new scion, who now continued the tradition of leadership established by his father, Marc, and two of his uncles, René Jollivet and Jean-Marie Le Ridant.

The following year stuck in René Galles's memory for different reasons. The first was a poignant moment early in September. Aunt Marie and her husband had been enormously busy that year owing to the rearrangements in their lives occasioned by his election to the Chamber and passing the command of his regiment, now in Bordeaux, to his old friend General de Sol. They had been away since Christmas. In July and August 1827, Aunt Marie had been gravely ill, attended to in Paris. When she returned to Pont-Sal on September 6, emotions were running high. Cécile seemed to be wasting away, and faithful Aimée had come from Châteaulin to be with her and help with the children. Adèle and all the rest had awaited each letter from Paris with dread, only to burst into joyous relief when they received news that their aunt, the backbone of the family, had recovered. She arrived late in the day, and when they all came together in the parlor, "before a roaring fire," she first held René "in total silence" for what seemed to him to be a lifetime. He, and the others, were all thinking "of over there" (2:6).

The second was the fate of Cécile. Their cherished sister-cousin-aunt-mother, Adèle's truest friend, was dying. Although no letter or other scrap of paper says so, the cause must have been the nineteenth century's biggest killer of adults, tuberculosis. Her voice had disappeared and she could communicate only by writing on a slate. She wrote her final note to Adèle—who saved it until her own dying day—saying that she did not want to die with the children present. Cécile returned to Vannes to be nursed by Louise Saint Galles, who had just had her robust baby, Louis. The herald for little Félix and attendant for both René and her namesake passed on in November just as a new life in her family began his journey (2:9).

The most memorable event in René Galles's young life occurred the following summer. Aunt Marie remained in Paris with her husband, attending to their social life and, given her own standing in the court, strengthening political ties for the

4. État civil, mariages, 1826, ADM.
5. See chapter 10.

new deputy from the Morbihan. Thus, as René put it, "we would remain the seigneurs and masters of the château in 1828." Marie could not contain her excitement in announcing to them by mail the voyage of Madame la duchesse de Berry to Brittany. She was scheduled to come by Pont-Sal on her way from Vannes to Auray in early June. Marie ordered that the château be festooned with the white flags of the Bourbons, and Adèle bedecked the pillars at the entrance with more. René recalled everything. The three children, dressed up in clothes sent for the occasion by their aunt, each held flowers to offer the dauphin's mother. Adèle, who slipped and fell in her excitement to shepherd the children to the gate, gathered herself amid salutes from the rifles of "anciens chouans" lining the route and presented them to the princess, whose landau had come to a stop: "Please deign, Madame, to accept the homage of three little orphans." René was primed to shout, "Vive le roi, vive Madame, vive le duc de Bordeaux!" but totally froze and burst into tears. But the princess gave him a kiss and rewarded the three of them with silver medals bearing the likeness of the dauphin (1:11–12). Later that day they all journeyed to the port of Auray, Saint-Goustan, to witness the arrival of the royal flotilla and the formal presentation of Madame Galles, the widow of a fallen officer, to the princess. These stirring moments were engraved in their memories, but also that of their royal idol. Aunt Marie wrote René that the princess recalled clearly both the encounter at Pont-Sal and his "distinguished manner, . . . no less worthy than *les enfants de la cour*," at his mother's side at Kerautrech.[6]

After these glorious moments, he wrote, "my happy years came to an end; I went to prison." René's formal schooling began that autumn. But the darkness actually descended before he left. It was the shadow of Aunt Marie, who came to live with them permanently at Pont-Sal late in the summer of 1828. René Galles, then a boy of eight, recalled the trauma that preceded and then accompanied his "banishment" to boarding school in Vannes. Marie had singled out Eugène's eldest to become everything his father might have been, creating pressures on him and his mother that still weighed as he wrote about it sixty years later. Most devastating for René was the treatment of his mother. "My aunt loved her niece, Eugène's wife, very much; and for us her affection had perhaps had an even higher level of tenderness. But hers was an imperious, dominating nature, and her character contained something mean-spirited that caused her to claim, especially to those somewhat dependent on her, an authority of which her imagination oddly extended the boundaries." The little family had lived for two years as "châtelains" of Pont-Sal while they slowly recovered from Eugène's loss, a time René remembered idyllically. But it did not take long after Marie's arrival for something to come up, and she made it known that "she was the mistress of the house and that we were *chez elle*." So Adèle's life became a "veritable torment that, for us, she endured with an angelic resignation." Even so, the children remembered times when their mother would "leave the table where the bread was so bitter and retreat to her bedroom to weep" (2:14).

6. Marie Le Ridant to René Galles, June 23, 1828, ADM, 2 J 81.

René also experienced his great-aunt's insensitivity directly, most memorably in an incident that sharply contrasts the child-rearing practices of two different generations—but may reveal something deeper about their "good aunt." The boy was afraid of ghosts, and the château of Pont-Sal could be a spooky place at night. Marie decided that she would cure him of his affliction before he went off to school. He would sleep that night in the Green Room at the far end of the house next to the woods "with the howling wind and the sinister cries of the osprey." But first, they must conjure up his worst nightmares, as she read him bedtime ghost stories and told tales of local haunts capped off with one about a priest who held an exorcism in René's very bed. And there he lay in the mystery room with creepy woodwork, where every nook and cranny held terror. He does not say whether the his exorcism worked, but he believed this was the "moment when she took over from my mother the determination of my life, brusquely ending forever the happy times of my childhood." On his next birthday the first "fatal payment" was made (2:13). René here refers to the beginning of the long history of support for his schooling, which gave powers to Marie over his destiny that he would only learn about later on. At the time, especially as he was abruptly whisked off to boarding school, he felt that his mother had abandoned him. As we shall see, Adèle's soothing hand, as expressed in the words of her letters to him over the years, would mollify the hurt and reestablish her influence on his life, but a welter of confusion, anger, and fear marked the beginning of René Galles's formal education.

As for Marie, René's overall assessment from the vantage point of the 1880s was perceptive and subtly critical of the gender codes that bound them all. "My aunt Leridant was, without any doubt, a woman with a fine mind, highly intelligent, made perhaps to play a role in the world more elevated than that which Providence assigned to her; but in the more modest station where she was called to live, she revealed strange lacunas and sometimes most unexpected inconsistencies. She was like the deep waters of sea that light can easily penetrate when the waters are calm, and that become dark when they are roiled or simply stirred" (2:14). It is doubtful that Marie Le Ridant would have cited God as the reason she was forced to live a life as a powerful auxiliary in the careers of her men. But she understood the limits placed upon her by the society to which she was linked and played to perfection the games its gender expectations allowed. Her brother, husband, and nephews knew very well what she had done and could continue to do for them. René Galles, in the end, knew as well, but obviously still felt that his achievements (as great as any in his family) had been purchased by her in a way theirs were not and at the expense of his mother's happiness. Thus he was inclined to view the sadness that she brought into his life as the result of character flaws rather than the steely determination with which she pushed her men to success and used her wealth and connections to ease their way.

Kathleen Kete has undertaken an examination of the problem of male ambition in postrevolutionary France, arguing that it was thought to be a trait bordering on the pathological. Many were the tales of men, such as Stendhal's Julien Sorel, brought

down by "blind ambition."[7] *Égoïsme* was the easiest target for all social reformers of the era. While economists might argue the virtues of self-interest and competition, both remained suspect for the public at large. But clearly men had long been ambitious, motivated by self-interest and competitive to the point of risking their lives in defense of their honor against other men, very often their competitors. But these were usually competitors who were deemed not to have acted correctly, honorably. At various levels, then, ambition had always to be veiled; it could never be "raw" in the sense that was imagined in Jacksonian America.

Women like Marie Le Ridant often provided the wherewithal to allow male ambitions to be pursued, but in ways satisfying the codes of behavior that cast opprobrium upon the Julian Sorels of this world. As we have seen, both René Jollivet and Jean-Marie Le Ridant found friendship and sponsorship in court society thanks to a network of women linking their sister-wife, to Madame de Sérent, a Breton noble, and thence to "Madame," the living symbol of the Bourbon dynasty. Neither man had to brandish his sword or pen to make himself known where it counted. Obviously both were talented, but they took care never to flaunt it. On a lesser level, Marie looked after Eugène as well, making certain that he knew the right people and "making the rounds" on behalf of his promotions—but without overdoing it. Remember Eugène's shock at the vigor with which René Jollivet II pursued, and got, his promotion. Marie's work involved activities at three levels: First, making certain that her men were indeed competent and cast themselves in the best possible light. Second, introducing them to all the people who might be of aid to them through her vast social network. Third, speaking on their behalf, again mainly at social occasions, to those with the power to help them realize their goals. Ambition was thus constantly embedded in the accepted mores of society. No man could be accused of unbridled self-aggrandizement. Their women did it for them.

Exile and Redemption: A Mother's Will

René Galles, the latest of Aunt Marie's projects, began his long trek toward the goal she coveted and he achieved—his admittance to the École polytechnique—at the *pension* of Mademoiselle Géhanno, the sister of the headmaster of the highly reputed Collège de Vannes, in September 1828. In leaving his family, his "turtledoves and green courtyard," he marched on the road of "successive ambitions, where each painful stage at first so rewarding, once reached, is just as quickly scorned!" René quotes Béranger's famous song "Là bas," bemoaning the endless race to the clouds: "so many useless voyages." In his old age he clearly regretted that this drive to succeed took hold then, a "defect [*défaut*]" in his makeup that remained with him "to this day." He thought

7. Kathleen Kete, "Stendhal and the Trials of Ambition in Postrevolutionary France," *French Historical Studies* 28, no. 3 (Summer 2005): 467–95. A much-expanded argument is made in her *Making Way for Genius: The Aspiring Self in France from the Old Regime to the New* (New Haven, 2012).

himself a victim of a programmed life that began at Mademoiselle Géhanno's and had no doubt that his great-aunt was ultimately responsible.

> I advise mothers, with deep conviction, to keep from separating a son from their constant and attentive care at too early an age. I affirm [from experience] that to do so exposes him morally and perhaps physically to the most dreadful perils.
>
> In the end, my mother, little aware of these serious dangers, had agreed to my exile; she told me later that it was not without regret or anxiety. It was true that my aunt brought to her attention that my behavior as a child was marked by an undeniable indolence; I was extremely effeminate; I couldn't tolerate the least annoyance; my character lacked resolution, virility, vigor. This all was related to an excessive, excitable sensibility; and I believe that had I remained in my mother's house [longer], submissive and obedient as I was, I would have more surely cured these flaws, several of which have followed me to the threshold of my old age. (2:15)

René thus believed that he would have become a more multifaceted person had he remained with his family until much later. His "flaws" could have slowly modulated without losing their positive aspects had he been allowed to do so.[8]

Instead, though at least the food was good and his cousin Bertin Savanter (Aimée's son) was there to be "mon compagnon de misère," he faced the terrors that boarding school held for the young and immature: "Although we *pensionnaires* were only twenty in number, the big boys, who did their philosophy and their rhetoric at the Collège, were mixed with the little ones in the eighth form, and, since there was no surveillance, especially in our rooms, where we were dispersed by group, from this year on I had before me the spectacle of vices that until then had been completely unknown to me" (2:15). These "vices" can easily be imagined and no doubt included ridicule and physical hazing of this delicate boy in the name of manhood, shaping him into the distorted, one-dimensional male that he pretended to be. Only now, as René wrote his memoirs and fully shifted his intellect and energy to solving the mysteries of the Breton past, could he begin to retrieve the man he might have been. The tensions of being male in nineteenth-century Europe again rise from these manuscripts.

8. There is considerable modern psychological research that would support this view, particularly in the United Kingdom, where the public schools have taken a beating in the press as well. See, for example, Joy Schaverien, "Boarding School Syndrome: Broken Attachments a Hidden Trauma," *British Journal of Psychotherapy* 27, no. 2 (May 2011): 138–55, where the author, a Jungian analyst, identifies in her patients precisely the personality consequences that René describes, including this point from the abstract: "In order to adapt to the [school's) system, a defensive and protective encapsulation of the self may be acquired; the true identity of the person then remains hidden." Among several other sources, see "Boarding School 'May Harm Children,'" *Guardian*, May 11, 2008. On the conditions within the nineteenth-century boarding schools, see John R. de S. Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe: The Development of the Victorian Public School* (New York, 1977). Literature on French boarding school life is surprisingly sparse, but see J. David Knottnerus and Frédérique Van de Pol–Knottnerus, *The Social Worlds of Male and Female Children in the Nineteenth-Century French Educational System: Youth, Rituals, and Elites* (Lewiston, NY, 1999).

René Galles went on to say, however, that "fortunately" he weathered the storm and did extremely well as a student, well enough to be accepted in 1829 at the prestigious military Collège royale de Nantes, thus taking him even farther from home. It is here that his mother's letters to him pick up. We must wonder whether the older René sorted out the letters from his time at the Vannes boarding school because of the memories they rekindled, though it is possible that there were very few of them, since he was able to go to Pont-Sal often, and his mother and siblings could visit at any time, staying with a variety of relatives in Vannes. Adèle would move back to the city permanently in 1830, reoccupying their old house (the Maison Chalmel), leased out for the previous five years.

Her early letters to her ten-year-old are rather repetitious, but they open a window on parental expectations and the educational process experienced by the sons of the upper bourgeoisie in this era. As René matures (and achieves), they lose much of their didactic character, presenting a picture of the wide-ranging interests, concerns, and roles of a matron at the heart of a network of powerful families whose children, like her own, were abandoning the *clocher* of their native city to carry their dynasties toward the national stage.[9]

Two letters from December 1829 are of the first sort. René got off to a good start in Nantes, with solid reports, invitations from local families for Sunday dinner, and many visitors, from his bachelor uncle Baptiste Jollivet and his dog Nancy to friends of the family from Vannes and Paris. He also had a good friend from Vannes, Prosper, who was an excellent student, much to Adèle's relief. The main news in her letter of December 2 concerned her father's health. René Jollivet was suffering mightily from an "enormous [kidney] stone," which, according to Monsieur Roi, Vannes's most respected surgeon, was inoperable. The patriarch bears his suffering, she writes, with "courage and resignation." He is spending much time with them at Pont-Sal, and Adele, Aunt Marie, and Gertrude do whatever they can to lighten his burdens. This leads her to discuss the role of her son, the eldest of the next generation:

> You too, my René, can contribute to his peace of mind, so helpful in easing physical pain. This will be by working hard, by making every effort to acquire knowledge, by doing your best not to be a grandson unworthy of this dear grandfather, for whom virtue and learning have always been the main pursuits. You know that the second still distracts him from his miseries and that often with ink and paper, surrounded by books, he is able to block out everything. Study, my René, is painful in the beginning, but it becomes a magic charm at a more advanced age. I hope that you will experience it, my dear child.

9. Adèle Jollivet Galles's letters to her son are preserved in ADM, 2 J 80 (1), and are identified by date in the text. René, who used them extensively in writing his "Journal," clearly sifted some out when he turned them over to the archives. Still, they are enormously useful, when combined with his memoirs, in reconstructing a veritable Bildungsroman of the man most centrally responsible for carrying this family into the ranks of the national bourgeoisie. We have ten letters from 1829, twenty-one from 1831, three from 1832, four from 1839, thirty from 1845, eighteen from 1848, twelve from 1849, and twelve from 1850. The gaps are unexplained.

Adèle goes on to praise Monsieur Roi, whose enviable reputation came about because he "worked hard and succeeded." She continues: "This is the history of all men blessed with some talent; the lazy ones will never become anything, whatever path they follow. One must always, my child, be guided by a noble ambition: to distinguish oneself in the position where he is. To succeed in yours, you should choose as models the children of your age who work the most, who are the best, and endeavor to be like them—without being jealous of them; listen attentively to your teachers; eliminate all distractions when you study."

Although one cringes at Adèle's calls for poor René to be worthy of his ailing grandfather, these lines encapsulate an ethic that had sustained this bourgeois family (and thousands like them) on their march through the nineteenth century. First, intellectual achievement is a good in itself and knowledge is its own reward. Still, success arises from its application. And, critically, study may be painful, but such hard work is the path to knowledge and success. Most telling, however, is the concept that true ambition means doing well in whatever context you find yourself. One can almost hear Voltaire's famous last line of *Candide*. And ambition is satisfied not only in cultivating one's garden individually but also by emulation of the "the best" in one's midst. Nowhere is competition mentioned. Success thus arises in an atmosphere of individual hard work and cooperative admiration in the absence of jealousy.[10] And of course the primary motivation is to live up to and perhaps surpass one's family's achievements. One also knows that on the way, its members will quietly contribute to one's success.

No one was more important to young René's success than his mother. She played the Rousseauian role perfectly. We have already observed her work as René's only teacher before he was sent to boarding school. No doubt as an army wife and then a widow she had borne more responsibility than usual. But her cousins Fanny and Aimée and her sister Marie Montagner were no less "republican" mothers. Adèle did not always practice positive (if guilt-laden) reinforcement of the sort seen here. In her letter to René of December 16 (where we find that he will not come home for Christmas and New Year's!), she chastises him for not performing well in spelling, which is also evidenced in his letters (twelve errors in the last one), but takes part of the blame: "I would have been ashamed of you had this letter been to someone other than your indulgent mother. My friend, you must redouble your attention, write slowly, think about what you are doing, and when you read, note how the words are spelled. I regret having let you learn how to read without spelling, and hence your problems, but that's a done deed, which a little application on your part can easily overcome." Adèle goes on to remind him that he's off to a good start at the Collège and he certainly doesn't want something like spelling to undermine him. The end of the trimester is coming soon, and "the report card [*bulletin*] on your conduct and your work will be sent to your family; make sure yours is satisfactory." She also reports on how René's "friend Louis" (Le Ridant) is doing at the Collège Ste. Barbe (not very well) and on his cousin

10. See Carol Harrison, *The Bourgeois Citizen in Nineteenth Century France: Gender, Sociability, and the Uses of Emulation* (Oxford, 1999); and Steven Mintz, *A Prison of Expectations: The Family in Victorian Culture* (New York, 1983).

Bertin Savantier at the local *collège* (off to a slow start, but improving rapidly), concluding with a reminder that sums things up handily: "I hope that all three of you will be the consolation of your families."

As to them, the time of New Year's greetings was approaching, and he must make sure that his "letters are written with your best effort." They should go to his grandfather and to his "aunt and godmother" (who we *know* will be on the lookout for spelling errors). In the letter to his grandfather, René should include "a special thought for your uncle Galles; never forget that he is the only brother of your poor father and is most worthy of all your affection." And via his aunt, he should send his best wishes to Uncle Le Ridant, recently called back to service at the head of the regiment poised in Perpignan ready to invade Algeria. René will have to work so hard on these letters that he need not send one to her, for her "best present" will be "if all your masters are satisfied with you."

Her tasks of distant oversight complete, Adèle spends the next page loving her son, remembering her own days in *pension* in Nantes, and looking forward to his return home for vacation so they can promenade together on the quais of Vannes (René's favorite pastime). His sister and brother send their love and show it at home: "Each time someone gives them candy, they save the best piece for you, and when the little basket is full, I will send it to you." The new sibling archipelago is in the making, and she concludes with a shower of affection from the old: "I send you the caresses of your aunt Marie and my own; all the uncles and aunts send you a million *amitiés*. Your uncle René is still in Toulon; Jules Le Ridant [the eldest son of Alexis and Virginie] has just left for the Levant," both in readiness for Algeria. Adèle was even more explicit in her next letter to René: "Never forget those who are most important to you: your brother and your sister, all your uncles and aunts, your grandfather." The sequence is important. René was being trained in the ways of horizontal kinship. And indeed his sister would marry Jules Le Ridant, her cousin, and he would wed another cousin, the daughter of Adèle's closest sister, Marie Le Montagner, just as most of his parents' generation had married largely within their cousinage.[11]

Adèle's immersion in her family was no doubt enhanced by the memory engraved on this date: "Today is December 16, five years since your father left for Guadeloupe; for me, it's the saddest of anniversaries; but when Providence preserved my beloved children, it gave me the greatest gifts of consolation and of courage." The complexity of Eugène's place in the life of his family can be appreciated in several letters to René in 1831 and 1832. This was the moment when the boy began to become a man (his first communion had occurred in June 1830), the time when a father's presence in a youth's life was deemed most crucial.

Occasionally, she simply laments her loss. Bertin Savantier was living with Adèle and the children in Vannes while attending the local *collège*, and his father, Henri, had

11. In nearly every one of her letters, Adèle reinforces the sibling-cousin network. Thus in her first to René in Nantes she concludes, after stressing the special love of his grandfather for him, that "il me faillait nommer toutes les personnes qui t'embrassent: les oncles et les tantes sont au premiers rang ainsi que la grand mère," Adèle's stepmother, who seems added out of duty. The culture of cousin marriage appears a natural part of the habitus of this bourgeois family.

just arrived to spend several days with them. "It's never without profound regret and feelings of envy that I see happier sons than you enjoy the endearments of their father. Alas, my René, you can remember only with difficulty those that yours lavished on you; and for two days only did sweet little Félix savor them—at an age when he could hardly recognize his wet nurse."[12] She says she tries to compensate by doubling her own love but cannot "replace the enlightened tenderness of your father, the sagacity that characterized him, the soundness of his judgment, the means that he possessed to direct your moral development; and also to increase your little fortune." Adèle thus provides a litany of qualities that she supposedly lacks, reflecting the gender assumptions of the day. Is there a stand-in, "an example of virtue? God alone, . . . the father of orphans, who can give you *l'amour de la sagesse*." Was Adèle speaking of *sagesse* as "wisdom" or "good behavior?" For a boy coming of age, it could be either. Yet she was not asking him to flee to God for solace but rather to let Him light his way.

But there were also mortal men whose example and concern for René could provide fatherly guidance, and they now figure more prominently in Adèle's letters than in the past.

The earlier role model, as we have seen, was the saintly grandfather, whose dedication to learning should inspire (and obligate) the student. René Jollivet, alas, succumbed to his ailments as the new year turned in 1830. We have no family letters about it, since they were all gathered for the event, but this was the man whose integrity, judgment, and enlightened voice resonated throughout not just his wide net of kin but his entire community. He never wavered from his belief in moderate royalism, which he associated with Louis XVIII and Decazes, and he paid rather dearly for it, disappearing from political life for the better part of his last decade. But his family, and especially his eldest daughter, shared his vision and, as we shall see, kept it alive into the next regime, to which they adapted well. Jollivet died with his landed assets intact, though with little in the way of liquid capital, and from an economic point of view did not advance the family's interests. But his moral capital, which for them was paramount, was reflected everywhere as virtually all its males served state and society. As a handwritten note from the prefect de Chazelles to Yves Jollivet, now the family's leader, put it: "I identify with your deep sorrow and take great pleasure in registering with you and your family the veneration that I share with our fellow citizens for the memory so dear to you, one that our country will honor always."[13] Certainly René Galles the adult remembered his namesake's significance for him.

But the grandfather was now gone, and since Eugène had been a military man and young René seemed pointed in that direction, it was natural that Adèle chose for him heroes close at hand. The first was Great-Uncle Le Ridant, who had become one of national stature. He had led his regiment to victory in the crucial battle at Sidi Khalef in the Algerian expedition in which he almost lost his life. His general, Loverdo, recommended him to Commander-in-Chief de Bourmont for promotion on

12. Recall that Félix "hungrily went to his mother's breast" when he was born. Apparently Adèle did not nurse later on.

13. Comte de Chazelles to Yves Jollivet, January 5, 1830, Papiers Jollivet, ADM, E 1051.

the field to *maréchal de camp* (brigadier general), a rank awarded provisionally after the capture of Algiers. Le Ridant always regretted that he did not participate in that last victory, but he was assigned to guard the rear and then, two weeks later, to occupy the conquered capital. The delay proved fatal, for Guadeloupe repeated itself as fever and dysentery overtook the Forty-Eighth. All told, thirteen officers and 630 soldiers died in Algeria, only eight of them by enemy fire. To make matters worse, after the July Revolution, promotions and battle pay were put on hold and the Forty-Eighth was ordered back to France without participating in the honors connected with the formal transfer of power to France in Algeria, "a heartbreaking thing" for Colonel Le Ridant.[14] Nevertheless, his enhanced reputation returned him, as a replacement for one of the many who refused to sign the oath of allegiance to Louis Philippe, to the Chamber of Deputies in September 1830, and the following January he finally received his promotion to *maréchal du camp*. Le Ridant had already sworn his allegiance to the new king before leaving Algeria.

How he navigated the politics of the revolutionary era can be gleaned from letters his wife sent to Adèle immediately after the July Days in Paris, which she witnessed. Why had this revolution happened?

> Ah, what evil the Ultras have brought upon the Bourbons! Their stupidity betrayed the royal family and, forging ahead, they precipitated its fall. What do Gertrude [Kerdu] and all those imbeciles who reason no better than she have to say now? They ought to be ashamed. They kept on shrieking at those who acted honorably and saw correctly that it would come back to haunt them. Now they continue to scream that the French people are monsters and ingrates, etc., etc., etc. This caps off their twaddle, for nothing could be further from the truth! The people are not monsters for wanting what has been promised to them nor ingrates when only favorites are rewarded. You can tell those [Ultras] of my acquaintance, my dear friend, that they should have on their conscience all the blood spilled in this revolution; for if the ministers had not had so many people around them applauding them, the king would have been better informed and this evil would not have befallen him and so many *braves gens*.

Thus shaking with anger did Marie Le Ridant vilify her wrongheaded fellow royalists. What is most interesting, perhaps, is that she has nothing negative to say about the revolutionaries ("the people"), though in describing the scene when King Charles X was confronted by the "commissaires" who came to Rambouillet (led by Odilon Barrot, whom she does not mention by name), she seems to applaud his resistance. But there

14. Details from a letter quoted by René Galles in his "Journal," 2:17. See Claude-Antoine Rozet, *Relation de la guerre d'Afrique pendant les années 1830 et 1831*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1832), 118–27, 151–53, 230–35; Gustav Gautherot, *La conquête d'Alger, 1830, d'après les papiers inédits du maréchal de Bourmont, commandant en chef de l'expédition* (Paris, 1929), 111–16; Pierre Montagnon, *La guerre d'Algérie: Genèse et engrenage d'une tragédie* (Paris, 1986). The toll from disease in the Forty-Eighth alone was higher than the total battle deaths of the French in the conquest: 415 officers and men. Guillaume de Bertier de Sauvigny, *La Restauration* (Paris, 1988), 602.

are no disdainful comments about that "most peculiar army," the mass of ordinary citizens on whom the National Guard scurried to impose its leadership as they surged toward Rambouillet to enforce the king's departure. Indeed, one of the family's friends, Madame Kléber, had come to Sèvres to fetch her student son and was on her way back to Paris when her carriage was commandeered by a mob of people on their way to Rambouillet. Marie describes the exhausting three-league walk Kléber made back into Paris, dragging along her eight-year-old and his belongings finally into the waiting arms of "bonne Mme. Sérent," but does not fault the crowd for taking her carriage. Another story came from her friend Sauvau, who "found himself among those defeated at the Tuilleries [on July 29]. He told me that they had lost many of the elite guard. It must be said that those [guardsmen] who continued to slash away did so against their convictions and only out of military honor. And their adversaries were so much the stronger, motivated as they were by their own will." Marie also reports a rumor of a plot to assassinate Louis Philippe, which for her and "tous bons français" would be a disaster, destroying any possibility of an orderly transition. There is no mention in this letter of Charles's effort to abdicate in favor of his grandson, the duc de Bordeaux, known as "Henri V," the long-term Bourbon pretender, whose mother, the duchesse de Berry, was the darling of the legitimists during the early July Monarchy. Despite the family's earlier joy when the duchess stopped at Pont-Sal, they would find her peregrinations in the west in 1832 ridiculous (made all the more so when it was discovered that she was pregnant with an illegitimate child) and dangerous to political stability.

"Stability" had always been the watchword in these families' political lexicon. Extremes of any sort were to be avoided. So it was that they gravitated toward Orléanism, already apparent in Marie's first letter as the dust of the revolution began to settle.[15] The next extant letter to Adèle is dated November 4, 1830. It places Jean-Marie Le Ridant politically at the time. He found himself in a dilemma because the "most notable" Breton deputies lined up in the "center-right and far right," which opposed the ministry of Jacques Laffitte. Le Ridant had as well, but when the shakeup of November 2 gave a stronger voice to Casimir Périer and François Guizot, who adamantly opposed the death penalty in the treason trial of "anciens ministres des bourbons" (Polignac and three others), he was willing to support them and the ministerial council, situating himself between far right and far left.[16] As a deputy, Adèle's uncle played his cards cautiously, as seen here, allying generally with the center-right in the Chamber though

15. Marie Le Ridant to Adèle Galles, August 4, 1830, ADM, 2 J 80 (5). For details on the drama of the king's last moments at Rambouillet and his subsequent departure, see David Pinckney, *The French Revolution of 1830* (Princeton, 1972), 168–79.

16. The disposition of the former ministers was the all-consuming political issue of this period and remained so until the trial in the Cour des Pairs ended on December 21 with the guilty verdict but not the death sentence for the four brought to trial (with "civil death" for Polignac). Republicans and the Parisian populace in general staged repeated demonstrations calling for "death to the ministers," while Louis Philippe and his supporters—a clear majority in the Chamber—sought a fair trial that would end in a clear condemnation of their betrayal of the nation. In this the Ridants and their entire family network (if not all their friends) would heartily concur even though they could never speak ill of the deposed king. See David H. Pinkney, "The Close of the Revolution, November–December 1830," chap. 11 in *The French Revolution of 1830* (Princeton, 1972), 330–68.

fully declaring his loyalty to the new regime. He does not appear to have made any noteworthy contributions on his own, but voted in favor of the key legislation setting the constitutional foundations of the July Monarchy: the electoral law doubling the number of *censitaires*, though it still left the national electorate a club of the wealthy and well-born; the liberalization of the National Guard, including the election of officers; and the reorganization of municipal government that called for the election (by a much larger voter pool than the *cens* list) of municipal councils, from which mayors would be appointed by the state.[17]

Jean-Marie Le Ridant thus led his family carefully into a new political environment, to which they would adapt successfully. In many respects Orléanism, with its emphasis on rewarding civic-minded, sober, industrious, and class-conscious bourgeois like themselves, suited them perfectly. In her letter to René of March 31, 1831, Adèle exclaims: "You are truly fortunate, since next week you will see your uncle Ridant. He is once again named deputy [this time by election]; I wish people everywhere would make such wise choices. Your uncle has a mind as steady as it is moderate, and his only thought is of the interest and tranquillity of our France. He has transferred to you, my child, the attachment that he had for your poor father. Like him, you must merit it." At his side when he died, Ridant loved Eugène "as a son." Adèle encourages René to think of him as a substitute for the grandfather he recently lost, but underlines his military heroism.

Although Jean-Marie Galles, Eugène's only living brother, became a friend and collaborator in René's adulthood, he appears solely as someone to respect in this youthful correspondence. This may have had something to do with his reserved nature, but probably more with his many other preoccupations. Not only was he now a *père de famille* himself (and all, thankfully, were thriving), but also he was fully engaged in Vannes's civic life in a variety of capacities that we shall visit later. Adèle's half brother Stanislas, the firstborn of her father's third marriage, married Marie Thubé, the niece of Dr. Lorvol and a distant Galles cousin, in 1830, thus continuing the family's endogamous cycle. He did his studies in law at Paris and moved apace in the judiciary. Though he was well integrated into family affairs, both his upbringing and his ambition (he would finally become the *avocat-général* at the Cour d'Appel in Rennes) held him back from deep intimacy with Adèle and her children.

So the perfect candidate for paternal surrogacy was René's mother's loving brother and his father's cousin-brother and best friend, Captain René Jollivet. He had recently married Julienne Le Bouhéllec (who came from that long line of liberals), by all accounts a vibrant, intelligent, and warm-hearted soul. She first appears in the correspondence (March 31, 1831) as a member of young René Galles's long-distance book club. They had no children yet, and Captain René was the same age that Eugène would have been. On June 16, 1831, late in young René's second year at the Collège, the captain wrote his first letter to his nephew. It was sent along by Adéle, who adds a lengthy postscript endorsing its contents. Despite her self-described inability to provide the same guidance as a father, she did not hesitate to scrutinize her brother's advice. The

17. See André Jardin and André-Jean Tudesq, *La France des notables: L'évolution générale, 1815–1848* (Paris, 1973), 128–29 and passim.

burdens he laid upon the boy were heavy. It is a document that transcends the personal, speaking of duties to family and to class:

> I have wanted to write to you for a long time to thank you for being, by dint of your good conduct and application to study, the consolation of your mother. . . . So young when you lost your excellent father, you were able to give thought to his meaning to you only as you matured; your conduct, my friend, has proved that you sense your position and the duties it imposes upon you. . . . The first and foremost is to cherish your good mother, to love and respect your relatives and, equally, the masters responsible for your education; they are the ones who at this moment replace most directly the father that heaven has taken from you; at all costs, win their esteem and their friendship; they are always ready to offer it to a studious and steadfast young man.

Speaking from experience, he goes on to say that students often ridicule and talk behind their teachers' backs, even evince "special hatreds." But "a well-brought-up young man never does anything of the sort." The profession that these men have chosen is a noble one. On a more general level, René Jollivet counsels his nephew: "Flee falsehood like the plague, learn never to betray your conscience; [but] neither is it always necessary to say what you think; a useless or uncivil truth should go unsaid, virtue consists in not lying. Never denounce your comrades; a punishment might well be the result of your silence—suffer it without speaking; sooner or later your innocence, when recognized, will make you more estimable in the eyes of all." Always take criticism like a man; let your actions speak for you, says the uncle, and you will soon have your "sergeant's stripes" as "I did in military school," the reward of masters and comrades alike. "Such are elements of the duties of a young man." But René Galles's position

> imposes even more. For you are the pillar of support of your mother and your young siblings [*frères*], the hope of your country, which, in providing half of your education, pays its debt to your father and thus has the right to demand from you that you become a good citizen, a man useful to the nation's interests. In our family, my friend, probity and virtue are hereditary; you will never swerve from their paths so easy to follow: good son, good kinsman [*parent*], good friend, you will be one day a good citizen and become a good father in your turn.

René concludes with the family mantra that success flows from hard work and promises the boy a visit to Lorient, where Jollivet is stationed, during his vacation, "if at the end of the year you have the *prix d'excellence*." He says finally that he promised Eugène that he would regard René as his own son and one that Eugène would be proud of.

From Adèle's postscript we can guess at the timing of this letter, for his teacher, Monsieur Janvier ("Janus" to the boys), had written that René had fallen below his usual standards (he was currently *cinquième*, a superior but not a top position), and she urges her son to work harder.

Whatever the motivation, René Jollivet's letter provides a detailed summary of the expectations of bourgeois parents for their children and of the code of honor by which

males should comport themselves. Nothing here is terribly surprising, but to see it presented so clearly is remarkable. A "well-brought-up" young man should be above petty ridicule of masters; he should never be a snitch, but must allow his silence to ferret out injustice even if he might be punished; though he should never lie, he does not always have to blurt out "useless" truths. These and other axioms of school and life will be rewarded by respect and honors. Above all, he becomes what he must for the family and its future. Uncle René reminds him in no uncertain terms that his schooling is paid in part by the state for which his father made the ultimate sacrifice. He owes it not only exemplary behavior and scholarship now, but also to become a good citizen and a man "useful to its interests." Family and nation thus intermingle as a matter of course: "Probity and virtue are hereditary."

As if Uncle René's guide to manliness were not enough, the boy's mother laid it on the line a month later:

> But the harm is done [his *cinquième* rank], *cher enfant*; let us now look to the future, I expect that you will make amends for the past. You must redouble your work without respite from now until vacation time. I hope—and there is still time for it—that the distribution of prizes will prove to me that my dear child has once again become the person that he always should have been. Think of the benefits of working hard. Your mind will improve itself with new knowledge; your heart, born *honnête et bon*, will be fortified more and more by *la pratique de bien*, and the praise that your masters will give you will bring you contentment; add to that the thanks of your mother.

And surely, she urges, he wants to be counted among those boys of "reason and good behavior," playing the emulation card. Surely it will not be her fate to find her son "among those lazy know-nothings [*ignorans*] who bring such sadness to their families." And so, "go forward René; swear a stalwart and unshakeable resolution that no difficulty can stop you!" Remember how he won his "sergeant's stripes" as a boy respected by all. What "shame" he would bring "on both of us . . . if you should lose them!"

It seems clear that René had fallen in with the wrong sort, and not only had his scholarship lagged but his comportment as well. Mother now delivers the ultimate argument:

> Do not forget that you are not in an ordinary position and that I have a right to expect a great deal from you. You are bound to be your mother's friend, later on her confidant, her counselor; the protector of Cécile and Félix; *what will become of us if you fail*? Will you abandon the path of duties quite easy to fulfill, when you know that your *father made the sacrifice of all that he loved, ultimately his life, to fulfill all of his*? How would you like it if someone else should profit more deservedly from the advantages of this *demi-bourse* so dearly, so cruelly bought? No, my child, no; I know well that you do not have a guilty heart; a lack of reflection, the thoughtlessness [*légérété*] of your age alone has carried you away. I am full of hope for you.

One can imagine the boy's reaction to this shower of guilt and expectation. He is the new guardian of the family for whom his father died and must fulfill his many duties for them. And would he waste his father's material inheritance as well? We learn, however, that he has already been improving his work to some degree, so she ends on a positive note, saying she hopes he has turned the corner.

There is in this discourse, as in Uncle René's, a class argument as well. Young René was "born *honnête et bon*," and appropriate behavior and application should flow naturally from this fact. In a letter the following November—and since René had his vacation in Lorient and the tone now is all bright and cheery, we assume that he took all the reprimands to heart and finished the summer term well—she reminds him to be as respectful and attentive to his new teacher as he was to Monsieur Janvier and to choose his friends with care. He should shun students who whisper about others and "offend decency." Indeed, "this virtue is ordained by God's commandments, and in order to practice it, one must have only the refined sentiments that are the allotment of any well-born person." Such coupling of class and God's will is a remarkable confirmation of the notion that Roland Barthes associated with "bourgeois ex-nomination,"[18] the "naturalization" of social power in which characteristics of behavior simply inhere in the person as he or she fulfills the norms and sets the standards of "the way things are done." Although virtually all of the correspondence that we have been visiting helps to define the habitus of this bourgeoisie, these words, and Uncle René's, speak directly to its sense of class, indeed a consciousness, if that word is not too worn out, of place and power. René is different from many of the other boys (though most come from similar economic strata) because of certain qualities of excellence and leadership that set him above all but a few, his natural peers and objects of emulation, none of whom, like the Galles–Jollivet–Le Ridant kin group, would actually call themselves "bourgeois."

Sarah Maza, in *The Myth of the French Bourgeoisie*, takes this as a sign of the absence of "class consciousness."[19] What is important is to pinpoint the moment when this sense of natural superiority and the habituation to the assumption of leadership set in. There seems little question that the process occurs during the first half of the nineteenth century, also the era (especially after 1830), as Maza documents so clearly, when "bourgeois" acquires a widely pejorative meaning, one largely associated with pretentiousness and moneygrubbing. It makes perfect sense that people who take on the burdens and benefits of power would distance themselves from the more distasteful aspects of their class identity. If this meant shedding the label "bourgeois," so much the better, since in the mouths of nobles, with whom they increasingly shared sociability and civic activism, and whom they largely replaced in political leadership after 1830, it still carried images of Molière, and among the popular classes, images ranging from one's boss (*mon bourgeois*) to more anonymous exploiters. In any case, labels imply specifics and limits. Better, indeed, to be unnamed. Talent, merit, good manners, high standards, probity, duty, dedication (*dévouement*), emulation, a

18. Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (New York, 1972), 138–42.

19. Sarah Maza, *The Myth of the French Bourgeoisie: An Essay on the Social Imaginary, 1750–1850* (Cambridge, MA, 2003), especially chaps. 4, 5, and 6. I believe that she misunderstands Barthes's intentions in his essay on the bourgeoisie.

thirst for knowledge—all these things and more were elements that non-noble men and women of wealth exhibited and improved upon from generation to generation. They legitimated their elevated social role. It was richly deserved, but never taken for granted. And as we have seen in the rigorous demands put upon young René, expectations were fulfilled ultimately by that most "bourgeois" of virtues, hard work.

The "bourgeois" Revolution of 1830 was neither welcomed nor reviled by the Galles circle. As anti-Ultra royalists, they only tepidly lamented the passing of Charles X, who had indeed violated the Charter, to which they subscribed. They might still have hope for a Bourbon restoration, but only if the young Dauphin would shed his Ultra connections. None of this, however, was worth unsettling their lives for. Moreover, the current generation, starting with Jean-Marie Le Ridant's younger brother Alexis, had married and would marry into families with pro-revolutionary, Bonapartist, and liberal backgrounds, thus mollifying the sharp edges of political antagonism. René Galles remarked in his memoirs that "the July Revolution had little effect on me," occurring at the end of his first year at the Collège royal. His only memory fixed on a tense moment in the tumultuous events in Nantes, which turned out to be among the most violent of the provincial responses to the July Days in Paris.[20] "The men of the people who were passing by in the alley beside the [open] windows of our classroom, seeing Abbé Andouard in his pulpit, cried out '*à bas la calotte*' [the cap symbolizing the church]. He replied with pride, 'God gave it to me, and God alone will take it from me.'" Ironically, he was soon terminated (though Le Ridant tried to intervene on his behalf) and left the priesthood under unexplained circumstances. Renè wonders: Was it politics, incompetence, or love? For two years later he fathered a son who became a pharmacist whom René would patronize forty years later. So who took his calotte? "Was it God or the devil?" (1:17). Though likely not the entire story, this snippet underlines the anticlericalism that marked the aftermath of the revolution in many places, with the school no doubt viewed as a bastion of both crown and altar. In general, the anecdote itself verifies the family's relative indifference to the revolution.[21]

As noted earlier, they adapted quickly to the politics and culture of the new regime as war hero Le Ridant was first appointed to replace his arrondissement's

20. See Pinkney, *The French Revolution of 1830*, 209–12; and Charles Tilly, "Political Process in Revolutionary France, 1830–1832," in *1830 in France*, ed. John Merriman (New York, 1975), 41–85, especially 70–71.

21. Abbé Andouard does not show up in printed sources from the era. René Galles clearly remembered the atmosphere of anticlericalism of the late Restoration and during the revolution; he would continue to mock the clergy gently at other places in his memoir. It will be recalled that his father occasionally did the same. Although Adèle seems to have been deeply religious and often invokes "Providence" as the source of both solace and energy for her loved ones and herself, she rarely mentions priests or even attending mass. It is apparent that this royalist family appreciated the monarchy only in its secular attributes and shared the growing distaste for the regime's sacral turn as the twenties advanced and as missionaries roamed the land, culminating in Charles X, who drenched the monarchy in reactionary Catholicism and delegitimized it in the eyes of a majority of the nation. Sheryl Kroen's brilliant analysis of the dismal failure of the later Restoration's commemoration of divine-right monarchy and the public's embrace of the sanctimonious impostor Tartuffe in the theaters and anticlerical demonstrations in the streets shows how the process unfolded. See Sheryl Kroen, *Politics and Theater: The Crisis of Legitimacy in Restoration France, 1815–1830* (Berkeley, 2000).

Ultra deputy and then reelected in his own right. Unfortunately, he came to be regarded as an Orléanist lackey even though he voted to the right of the "party of order," led by Périer and Guizot, and vehemently denounced republicanism in defense of royalism. He was personally sympathetic with the ideals, if not the person, of the duchesse de Berry, but would not associate himself with her campaign to raise counterrevolution. He lost the trust of legitimists in the region and indeed was labeled a "traitor" to the cause of the Bourbons by some of Vannes's leading citizens. His closeness to the new prefect, Édouard Lorois, and the fact that his nephew Jean-Marie Galles and nephew René Jollivet's father-in-law, Pierre-Jean Le Bouhéllec, were members of the small yet powerful Council of the Prefecture only added fuel to the fire. He lost his seat in the new election occasioned by the dissolution of the Chamber in May 1831.

For young René and his family, disillusionment with the clerical conservatism that increasingly clothed the Bourbon cause, linked with fear of renewed upheaval in the west of France due to the stormy presence of the duchesse de Berry, marked their definitive shift to the mixture of moderate royalism and Bonapartism that defined mainstream politics during the earlier 1830s. At René's school, where legitimism still reigned, a series of scandals that included the theft by one of René's masters of a military decoration given to the boy by his uncle René and the sexual liaison between the headmaster and a young nun who worked in the infirmary tarnished its image. New appointments brought this military *collège* into line with political realities, much to the benefit of its star students, as we shall see. In Vannes, a *conservateur des hypothèques* named Bourdonnays, appointed during Ultra dominance and not replaced, stopped charging interest for wealthy (mostly noble) mortgage holders, losing the city half a million francs. But most heartbreaking for René and the entire family was the virtual Chouannerie carried on against his uncle Ridant in and around Pont-Sal, which led to the sale of their cherished country house. In his memoirs, René Galles recalled the circumstances as if it were yesterday:

> After the July Revolution, [many] former Chouans, who had long ago been commanded by my uncle, . . . did not understand why their former chief had remained a general in the service of Louis Philippe. Around Pont-Sal, people no longer greeted my uncle, and . . . he even received anonymous letters threatening him with a ball [of lead] if one encountered him in the woods. . . . All that was unjust, because my uncle had gained his promotion in battle, under the Bourbons, . . . and since that time he stayed in Brittany, in availability but without [military] employment. He was not a man to back off and wanted to face the storm head-on; he went out alone, even in the most deserted areas, where a crime might easily have been committed. But my aunt, who feared for his life, tormented him so much that she persuaded him to give up this estate, so dearly loved. (2:35)

Pont-Sal was finally sold in July 1833 to Jean Lallement, a lawyer and *notaire* then living in the Loire Inférieure, whose son later married into the family and helped arrange

for the deposit of their papers in the archives. As we know, René Galles was inconsolable, never passing the gate of "my château" without pausing to lament its loss.[22]

In the fall of 1833, René entered the third form and moved into the *moyen collège* with other young teenagers. Although the age spread was less severe than in his school quarters in Vannes, newcomers came in for hazing by the older boys, made all the worse by the "indifference" of the resident masters, who "walked around gravely in the courtyard with their hands behind their back, *laissant faire*." Such inattention led to yet another scandalous incident in which Berneval—the brightest boy in René's class, his role model and best friend—having been surrounded, cornered, and subjected to obscene gestures and remarks by a group of harrassers, "drew his knife, struck out right and left, and wounded several students, one quite seriously" (2:37). Seeking to keep the affair *intramuros*, school authorities merely returned Berneval to his parents, who lived in Nantes, but allowed him to continue his classes. There is no evidence of the incident in the records of the school or of efforts to curtail hazing. The culture of the nineteenth-century boarding school seems to have remained intact. Adèle, apprised by her son of what happened, tried to draw a lesson from it all—not about the hormone-stimulated barbarity of this culture, but (again) about the need to maintain an even keel, to control one's anger and behave, even under adversity, in a manner appropriate to one's station. She even took the opportunity, ambitious mother that she was, to inquire whether the departure of poor Berneval might open a scholarship place for her Félix, who she hoped would follow his brother.[23]

René saved few of his mother's letters from his later years in Nantes, but he has a great deal to say in his memoirs about his conflicted educational experiences and his larger sense, at age sixty-eight, that he had taken the wrong career path. Despite his obvious success as a military officer, only now had he found fulfillment in his true calling, as a historian and archaeologist. It was Adèle (and through her, his father, his great-aunt, and the entire family) who charted his way (and that of his brother as well) into the most prestigious of vocations for French bourgeois-on-the-make: public service on the national stage. It had been predetermined that René was to be the first in the family to be admitted to the grandest, in that day, of the *grands écoles*, the Polytechnique. As he put it, this was "the goal that had been chosen by my mother" (2:44). Here the great figures in the intertwining worlds of the military, the administration, the economy, and the sciences, whose hegemony came to be established during the July Monarchy and the Second Empire, received their training and, above all, made their connections. This was the age when the French elite, with some minor additions and subtractions, came to be established. It was not, and would never be, significantly Parisian in origin, though Paris was the terrain where it exercised its power. The men constituting it came from everywhere, but were thoroughly French in language and

22. The deed is in the possession of the current residents of Pont-Sal, the Bardet family. I thank them for sharing it with me.

23. Adèle to René, November 2, 1833, ADM, 2 J 80.

culture whether they came from Alsace, Flanders, Brittany, Auvergne, or Languedoc. Most were of commoner origin and, whatever their politics, had benefited from the revolution. And most had families and wider kin connections who had already taken their place within local networks of power.[24] In all this the Galles–Jolivet–Le Ridant family and René, their chosen emissary to national position, were typical. The pressures on him were also typical of those placed upon the thousands of other young men from the provinces carrying their family's and their locale's destiny.

To be admitted to the École polytechnique, which was, after all, mainly a science and engineering institution, proficiency in mathematics and quantitative analysis was mandatory. Unfortunately, René had received little training in arithmetic from his mother and, until the third form, virtually none in school. "I understood nothing about figures," he confesses, above all because the notion of decimals was foreign to him. His math teacher, Monsieur Dorveau, suggested that he have a tutor, but the first two were decidedly unhelpful. At the same time, however, René had an excellent instructor in history, a follower of Michelet and a publishing scholar in his own right, whose lectures captivated his students. Fifty years later, René still regretted not having learned as much as he could have from him. The following year, René's French literature teacher, Monsieur Kerangul, absorbed his full attention. He "chose, with perfect taste, pieces of French literature whose analysis formed the core of his lessons; his speech was elegant and fluent, and his classes [the ultimate compliment!] always seemed to end too soon." But René's travails in math continued, with a geometry instructor who "simply could not teach." Fortunately Dorveau, the department head, took the boy under his wing. "[He] walked me through [all elements] of the final examination; [it was] the beginning of my good fortune *polytechnicienne*." René's *seconde* was "the most brilliant" year of his school career, mainly because he finally "took pleasure in learning." He won "several prizes" as a result. Clearly his mother, his aunt, and all the others were ecstatic (2:46–47).

But the struggle for the École polytechnique had hardly ended. In his last year he excelled in rhetoric, with one of his essays chosen to be read before the *inspecteurs universitaires*, but he was advised to delay his philosophy exam in order to take a special course in mathematics, again with Dorveau, thus giving him another year before entering the competition for the École. He was in a class with four other young men (René was now seventeen), all deemed worthy candidates, and each had his own talents. The youngest and most brilliant, de Bouteiller, later skyrocketed in the administration of the Ponts et Chaussées. Tellingly, two others had older brothers who were *polytechniciens*. One would not make it because, though he was probably the most gifted of the five in science, he suffered from "huge problems with language." A balanced intelligence prevailed as the most essential requirement to enter the charmed circle of the nation's leaders. All came from backgrounds similar to René's: families

24. The literature here, of course, is vast. The foundational study remains Jean-André Tudesq, *Les grands notables en France (1840–1849): Étude historique d'une psychologie sociale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1964). An excellent overview is Roger Price, *A Social History of Nineteenth-Century France* (London, 1986), chap. 3, "Elites."

of some wealth and influence locally, now counting on their sons to reach the top. It was not until September 1837, more than a year after their special training had begun, that "M. Dorveau took his dear band of schoolboys to Lorient . . . for the examinations that would begin on the ninth. One of our examiners was mightily feared by the *taupins* [little moles], as those studying for the École were called. This was Auguste Comte, the author of positive philosophy." Two of his cohort were accepted, but René was refused admission, though "honorably." At his age, one might take the examinations three times, and Dorveau was confident that he could make it. And he gave him the ultimate compliment: despite the fact that he was "more a literary scholar than a mathematician," he told the boy, "you also have real talent in the exact sciences" (2:53).

His family and his teacher agreed that the next step for René was "study in Paris in one of those establishments specially organized to prepare for the government schools." (We understand why money was essential for making one's way in the new meritocracy.) It was the defining moment in his life, and indeed that of his entire kin network, since he was the first of all their clan to aspire to the *grands écoles*. Aunt Marie contributed part of his tuition at the *pension* Bourdon on rue Payenne in the Marais, housed in an *hôtel* once frequented by Madame de Sévigné. His sponsor and main Parisian contact was Monsieur Erdevan, a Breton, close friend of his uncle Yvon, and a bureau chief in the prefecture of the Seine. René had little knowledge of Paris (though he says ruefully that he would come to have "too much"), but was delighted with his new environment, especially because his aunt Marie-Elizabeth, Adèle's twenty-three-year-old sister, was there and being courted by the young lawyer from Vannes, Alfred Lallemand, who would become "a friend as invariable, solid, and constant as those menhirs whose history he wrote about." René took classes at both the Collège Charlemagne and the Collège Henri IV, the best of the day, and received special instruction in mathematics at his *pension*, unfortunately this year taught by the brilliant but impatient Monsieur Rouby. René came close to transferring the second term to the *pension* Mayer, where his friends Bouteiller and Dujardin were quite pleased with their instruction, but was talked out of it at the last moment by Bourdon. He had an active social life, spending many free evenings dining at inexpensive restaurants with his friend Hélot, a first-year *polytechnicien*, and finding a mentor and guide to the cultural life of Paris in the young historian at Henri IV, Raymond Thomassy, who had already written "a well-regarded history of Christine de Pisan." Erdevan invited him and his friends often for Sunday dinner, where the conversation was lively (2:56–57).

René made stellar progress during his second term and took his examinations at the Hôtel de Ville in August 1838. Not only did he pass, but he placed thirty-ninth nationally, good enough for a "demi-bourse" at the École. His magic moment came in the first exam, with Auguste Comte, which mixed philosophy and mathematics. "I answered all the questions put to me effortlessly. I remember that in finishing, the mathematician-philosopher asked me one that I answered intuitively, almost by chance; it was one of those moments when the overstimulated mind takes on a strange lucidity; I had responded *à miracle*. And since then, whenever I've searched for the reasoning behind my answer, I've never figured it out; I left him in the Salle Saint Jean where it would still be if not for the petrol and the Commune. Comte placed me

fourth on the general list for France" (2:61).[25] When he returned home, René got word of his triumph in "an envelope with a great red seal." Emotions ran high in Vannes, with tender kisses from his mother, tears of joy from Félix and Cécile, who "would not have traded their brother for Charlemagne," a moment of fulfillment with *tante* Le Ridant, and at Truhélin an embrace "from the heart" with his uncle René on the heath, "for he loved his sister Adèle tenderly. Thus my beloved mother had succeeded; for it was she, much more than myself, who had led me—not without pain—to the realization of her cherished project" (2:61).

It is fitting that René Galles closes the second part of his memoirs amidst his brothers and sisters, his mother and her brother, and his grandfather's sister. René had also been smothered with affection by all his relatives in Vannes and beyond when they saw him that magic autumn. Although he credited his mother above all, his accomplishment would not have been possible without the support and example of his kin world, the three-generational sibling archipelago in which Aunt and Uncle Le Ridant joined their brother as models and constant sources of physical and financial security, Adèle's brothers René and Yvon substituted as best they could in place of the boy's father, providing behavioral advice and the crucial Parisian contact; and there was the love of his own siblings as he served as an example for them. Throughout, though the words sometimes became a bit pointed, the sea of love engulfing the young man, and his mission was unmistakable. Just as emulation submerged ambition, love constantly softened design.

Family Matters

During René's turbulent years of study for the École examinations, his families had experienced the usual joys and traumas, which René integrated into his focused existence.

Although proud of his brother Félix, now well on his way toward similar successes at the Collège royal de Nantes, René speaks more of his sister in his memoirs. We do not have any correspondence between René and Cécile so have no way of proving whether the intimacy, indeed longings, that characterized the relationships between Eugène and Aimée and Adèle and brother René continued in the next generation. Cécile, two years René's junior, was quite intelligent and a talented artist, particularly in graphite and pen-and-ink drawing (like her grandfather Marc). He speaks lovingly of her throughout his journal and marvels at her vitality and focus compared to his own. Cécile was destined to enhance the families' fortunes in Morbihan high society. Her uncle Yvon, as the premier *notaire* of Vannes, had befriended Édouard Lorois as the latter acquired property in the department in the late 1820s.

25. On the examination process, see Bruno Belhoste, *La formation d'une technocratie: L'École polytechnique et ses élèves de la Révolution au Second Empire* (Paris, 2003), 321–25. Comte has left a record of his work for July–September 1837, during which time he interviewed 134 candidates in Paris (working virtually nonstop) and 133 in the provinces (ibid., 321–22).

His status and politics—he came from an imperial military family, and his wife was the daughter of a Conventionnel—made him a perfect candidate for prefect in the service of Louis Philippe, a post he would hold throughout the regime, leaving a record that earned him a fine bridge in his name over the Sal-Bono estuary. As a young girl, Cécile got to know Lorois's daughter Claire, "whose education was carefully honed," recalled René, "and she shared her work and lessons with my sister, which resulted in a close friendship that would last until this day." They both befriended Coralie Dijon, the daughter of the *sous-intendant militaire* at Vannes, who "became a ravishing young woman" and would marry René's great friend Baudry, later one of the "most highly respected publishers of Paris" (2:34). Cécile was also the young belle of Auray, where they visited their many friends, especially the Bosquets, with their fine new house overlooking Saint-Goustan. Adèle was particularly close to Madame Bosquet, who revived the traditions of the Marquers, hosting soirées and Sunday dinners on the terrace with *le monde* from Vannes and Lorient; her husband joined Yvon and Uncle Alexis Le Ridant on the Conseil général. Our three families had rapidly integrated with the Orléanist establishment, eased forward by a radiant daughter. Cécile was also a dear friend of the daughter of Clément Marquer, her mother's cousin-german, and served as her maid of honor when in May 1838 Pauline Marquer married Ensign Edmond Pradier, the son of César Pradier, perennial city official and currently another prefect's council member. This interplay among marriage, kinship, friendship, and power will grow and grow in the next generation, often thanks to women like Cécile.

René's last years at Nantes and then Paris were marked by the usual changes in the life of his kin world. It is interesting to leaf through these twenty pages of his memoirs to see what stuck in his memory, with the aid of his mother's letters, fifty years later.

In January 1834, a great wedding was planned between Amédée Thubé, Dr. Lorvol's nephew and Stanislas Jollivet's brother-in-law, a military supplier, and Elianthe Trochu, the daughter of the chief of military supplies for the Morbihan, at the reestablished army base on Belle-Île. She lived with her parents there and awaited the arrival of her fiancé and his male entourage, including Stanislas and her father. They carried with them the wedding feast of preserved meats prepared and expedited by the famous Parisian charcutière Madame Chevet. Alas, the seas raged under a storm of epic proportions, pinning them first in La Trinité, then at Port Haliguen on the Quiberon for eleven days. Since even *dindes truffés* and *foies gras* can't last forever, the *dîner de noces* had to be consumed. There is no mention of whether these poor *naufragés* were also bringing the champagne. But finally, "the lovely Elianthe became Madame Thubé, undoubtedly thanks to Venus, who intervened to calm Neptune" (2:42).

Besides the marriage of Stanislas to Marie Thubé, this family, already in the Galles-Jollivet orbit because of the Lorvols, was linked to it in several other ways. In 1827 Amélina Thubé, Amédée's sister, had married François-Marie Delorme of Auray, who was related to both of Jean-Marie Galles's wives. Dr. Lorvol was a witness for the bride. The Thubés expanded their kin constellation in 1840 with the marriage of their youngest son, Adolphe, into the Burgault family, destined to become one of the

city's main political dynasties on the moderate left. The same year the Thubé-Trochu alliance was re-cemented by Amédée's youngest sister's marriage to Eugène Trochu.[26]

For two generations, the professions of the Thubé and Trochu males had to do with the administration of military supplies (*subsistances militaires*) as well as regular army officer positions. The Trochu father, Jean-Louis, was a high-ranking official, a liaison with the Ministry of Public Works, and chevalier of the Legion of Honor. His official residence was Belle-Îsle/Vannes, and he served on the Conseil général of the Morbihan. He and Jean-Marie Le Ridant were old friends and had regular contact owing to General Le Ridant's new post, announced in 1835, *commandant militaire du Morbihan*. No doubt his Chouan comrades were further dismayed, but we hear nothing more of death threats. The military community of Vannes grew every year in part because of the proximity to the reopened base at Belle-Îsle, but also on account of the administrative role the city increasingly played in military oversight of both the land and sea armies and their provisioning. Our families and their extended network of kin obviously were central players in it, precursors on the city's path to survival, then success, as a result of an ever-growing military presence. For many young men of the Vannes bourgeoisie, a military career proved to be the ideal way to advance the status and interests of their families. Clearly this was the case with the Galles and Jollivets, with both René Galles and Jules Jollivet, his cousin, becoming generals; in my kinship grid based on marriage records after 1805, more than 20 percent of the men of the town's elite were career military personnel.[27] This, plus careers in the state civil administration, the judiciary, and electoral politics (all amply represented in the Galles–Jollivet–Le Ridant kin group), became for these families the preferred route to power and prestige on the regional and national stage.

The living situation of Adèle's little family changed dramatically in 1835, when she decided to move out of the town's center to Poulhaut, a charming close with a large garden and a house much in need of repair on the outskirts of old Vannes, which had come into her possession in the succession from her father. She apparently used the move made by Alexis Le Ridant and his family into an elegant home facing the cathedral as an excuse to proceed. She now had a place "of her own," unencumbered by obligations and not always pleasant memories, for the Maison Chalmel was where they were living when Eugène died. René remembered that she was delighted to participate in planning all aspects of her new dwelling's renovation. His own memories of it bordered on elegy, for it—along with long stays at Truhélin for hiking, fishing, and playing with his cousins—was where he spent his vacations from school during his most rewarding years.

The mid-1830s were also marked by a number of deaths in the family, beginning with that of Adèle's stepmother, whom René in fact thought was his actual grandmother, so integrated were she and her oft-visited Kercado relatives of La Roche–Bernard into the children's lives. The next to go was Adèle's sister-in-law Eugénie née Castelot, her brother François's widow, who had remarried a Hardy from that illustrious (and distantly related) Auray family. According to René, she was one of his mother's closest

26. État civil, mariages, Vannes, 1827, 1840, ADM, 4E 260.
27. See chapter 10.

confidantes, and her remarriage did nothing to strain their relationship, even though Adéle followed the much more usual path of sustained widowhood.[28] Adèle also lost a brother, Baptiste, the youngest son of her father and his first wife, Jeanne Le Ridant. He is the least known of the family, though according to René Galles, he was a cavalry officer of the first order. His career began during the late Empire, when we hear of him in the early letters among the Jollivet-Galles siblings, and he fought in Spain and Algeria, finally earning the position of *chef d'escadron* in January 1835. But, says René,

> he was full of manias, and I can't stop without citing some of the resulting odd traits. Meticulously cleanly, he had a platform made that followed him everywhere and on which he would stand to put on his pants to make sure that the cuffs did not brush the ground. 'Twas he also who would bring Fanny, his favorite mare, along with him to take the waters in the Pyrenees. He was all but married several times, but—though used to overcoming obstacles, in this case mostly self-made—it never happened. We learned one day that he died at a friend's, a château in the Midi where he joined a hunting party. (2:48)

This singular fellow, an obsessive-compulsive who seems to have loved his horse more than women, no doubt caused much conversation in the family and reminds us a bit of that bachelor of an earlier generation, Jean-Marie Galles I. In 1836 yet another of Adèle's brothers, Eugène, the youngest son of René Jollivet and Désirée Kercado, passed away. The young man had always been sickly and, despite "a fine mind," had only managed to find a post as a lesser official in the indirect tax bureau. The likely killer was tuberculosis. In such large families, deaths of young adults were not that uncommon, but the Galles-Jollivet clan had more than their share.

But the major loss, certainly for René, was his great-uncle Jean-Marie Le Ridant, who died on July 4, 1837. He had had a stroke while on a promenade with his brother Alexis and Jean-Marie Galles, appeared to recover, but then succumbed quickly to dropsy. "We mourned my uncle as a father, and indeed, since the death of ours, he had replaced him for us. The grief of our aunt was calm but profound; hers was a courageous nature, and she believed in *réunions éternelles*." It was in the aftermath of Le Ridant's death that the children learned that they were to be the sole heirs of his and Aunt Marie's estate. The couple's revised will, made in Guadeloupe, mandated that each of them would control the assets of the other until the survivor's death, after which the three children would inherit the entire estate equally, in "une donation réciproque et mutuelle," which would prevent any dilution of the assets in case the survivor might remarry (2:54–55).

28. Among the sample of the city's elite that I have analyzed, remarrying widowers outnumbered widows by ten to one. As noted earlier, widows had many reasons not to remarry, not least of which was to retain their independence. On this score, see especially Janine Lanza, *From Wives to Widows in Early Modern Paris: Gender, Economy and Law* (Aldershot, 2008). In Adèle's case, it is obvious that she would not have been able to play such a preponderant role in guiding her children's lives or serving as the ongoing centerpiece of our families' affairs had she done so.

René Galles's memoirs provide glimpses of the intimate world of "his own" as he was about to embark on his career. Alexis Le Ridant and his wife, Virginie Danet, along with their son Louis—René's "best friend"—figure prominently. Alexis had become the scion of the family and, among the wealthiest of the electors of the department, had been elected to the municipal council and then to the General Council of the Morbihan, the pinnacle of prestige and power short of election to the Chamber of Deputies. Though the place of the Danets had faded, Virginie, much loved by the children, linked the families with many of their circle. As former republicans and Bonapartists, they had come into their own again, much like Aunt Zuma's and Aunt Julienne's relatives (Kerviche and Le Bouhéllec), thus helping to ease the Galles and Jollivets further into the power structure of July Monarchy Vannes. René's fondest memories seem associated with Uncle René and especially Aunt Julienne (whom they all called "Juliette," in true Romantic fashion). René Jollivet, as captain of a brig, was stationed at Locmariaquer on the Quiberon peninsula, and visits with him there were special, but the summers at Le Truhélin under the command of Juliette were more so. Their son Jules, the future general, was born there in October 1834.

On the Galles side, Adèle and her children remained closest to Aimée Savantier, though Adèle's patience was tried when Aimée's oldest son, Bertin, came to live with his aunt for his final year at the Collège de Vannes. Not only was he taciturn in the extreme, but also "her boarder raked her ears with his violin." But René mainly recalled a wonderful trip to Châteaulin in the summer of 1835 with his aunt Marie, his mother and siblings, and their cousin Adèle Pavin, Fanny's youngest daughter, all aboard "a huge *berline*."

> The first night we slept in Hennebont at the home of our aunt Marie-Louise [Le Montagner]; there, I embraced my pretty little cousin Marie, who was turning seven; I remember how her hair, plaited in two blond braids, floated as she ran like two long wings. . . . On the third day we arrived in Châteaulin, where we were to stay a month with the Savantiers.
>
> What pains these fine relatives went to in entertaining us, and how successfully! Ah, what a holiday! We put on a comedy, *Vertel*, by Scribe, a vaudeville in which Félix and I had all the roles. We took numerous promenades in the picturesque environs of the little city. . . . We ended our trip in the Finistère with a sojourn in Brest, arriving by steamboat from Port Launay. . . . We visited with Madame Kindland, widow of a lieutenant colonel under my uncle in the 48th, who had two charming daughters.

René, not quite sixteen, seems in full bloom here, relishing the delights of a trip when he first noticed the vivacity of Adèle's favorite sister's daughter and a range of delicious summer vacation memories. It is a landscape dotted with cousins and aunts, a world of closeness where childhood affection could easily deepen into adult love, as it would for René and Marie Le Montagner, who became husband and wife in 1850 (2:50–51).

If cousin marriage as a "family strategy" for the purposes of economic and social consolidation in this, the era of its densest practice, seems logical, its actual realization

could occur only in an ethos where family love and conjugal love simply intertwined, where the first members of the opposite sex that one encountered regularly (beyond siblings) were one's cousins, girls and boys who were totally acceptable potential marriage partners. For René, all that would lie in the future. The business at hand now was the final step of the young man's destiny.

CHAPTER NINE

Into the World

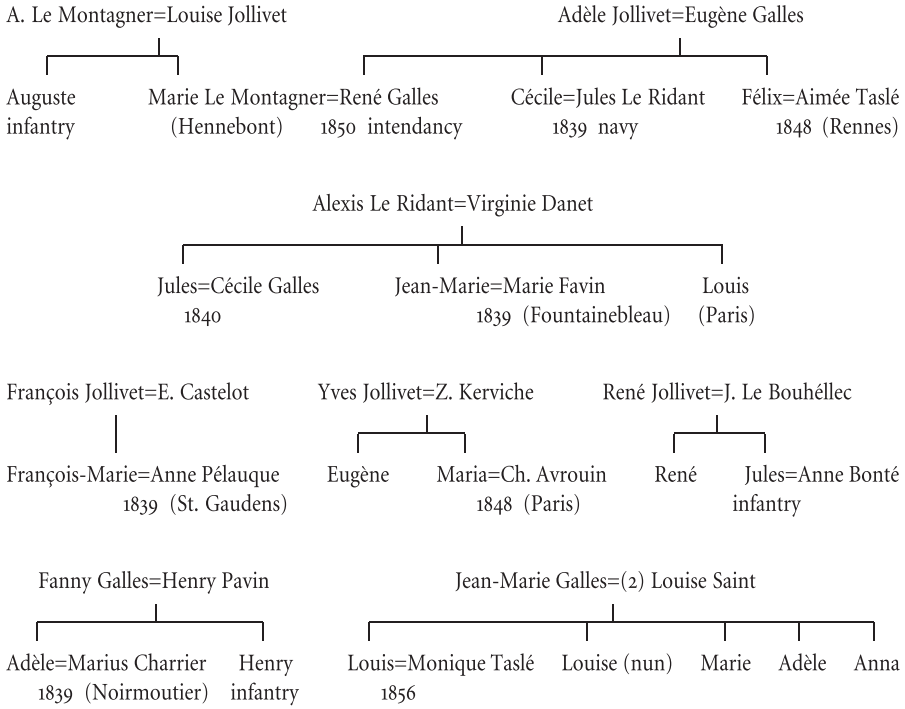

Figure 7. General René Galles and his generation

René Galles begins the third (and last) part of his memoirs, "My Youth," with a brief history of—in that day—France's most renowned and powerful institution of higher education. Though created by a law of the Convention passed some two months after the fall of Robespierre under the name École centrale des Travaux publics, the École polytechnique rapidly became oriented toward preparation for military service as France entered an era of nearly constant warfare. In 1804–5 it was fully militarized by Napoléon, its students housed in barracks (though of a most opulent sort in the former Collège de Navarre) and obliged to wear uniforms,

an ongoing tradition. Although a majority of its graduates became career military officers (mainly in the technical branches), many entered the civil services, especially Ponts et Chaussées, while others ended up in careers in the private sector, often using their mathematical and engineering skills. Naturally the nonmilitary professions drew increasing numbers during the relatively peaceful years of the Restoration and July Monarchy. Polytechnicians, often linked by their school friendships, became, during the reign of Louis Philippe and especially the Second Empire, national and international leaders in economic development, particularly in rail, heavy industry, and banking—the very heart of the French industrial revolution. The statist character of French industrialization, in which concepts, encouragement, approval, and subsequent regulation by the central government accompanied most major undertakings, though rooted in practices originating under the old regime, owed both its rationale and its fulfillment in significant part to the École's spirit, its personnel, and the remarkable talents of its graduates, who populated the pinnacles of power on either side of the public-private divide, if one can say such a divide existed.[1]

For his part, René Galles had been pre-programmed for the École's traditional career path. His father, his deceased uncle Bertin, two of Adèle's brothers, and of course his famous great-uncle Le Ridant were all military officers. Several young relatives of his own generation were headed in the same direction. Although a number of family members followed careers in the civil service and the private sector, it was clear that the clan saw in the military their highest calling. At this point it was their surest avenue to *haute-bourgeois* status both regionally and nationally. Aunt Marie's dream was being realized. René Galles, the first of their kin network to enter the charmed circle of the École, became the linchpin of their families' ascent. He himself provides the statistical demonstration of his significance. By the date of his writing, 1883, 13,357 men had graduated from the École. He was one of only 117 from the Morbihan, 668 from Brittany (3:26).

René's letter of admission had arrived on October 24, 1838. It was signed by the minister of war, General Bernard, whose Parisian-born son had been in René's *pension* and would be his classmate at the École, although in neither was he anywhere close to René's intellectual equal. René Galles does not discuss this in his memoirs, but the Bernard example underlines one of the ongoing features of the École polytechnique and all the *grands écoles*: what Bruno Belhoste has called "the meritocratic illusion."[2] While nepotism per se at the Polytechnique has not been studied scientifically (and such a study is perhaps impossible to do because of the nature of the records), it is clearly documented for military recruitment and advancement, where certain *poly-*

1. See, above all, Bruno Belhoste, *La formation d'une technocratie: L'École polytechnique et ses élèves de la Révolution au Second Empire* (Paris, 2003). The best appreciation of the Polytechnique's economic role remains Rondo Cameron, *France and the Economic Development of Europe, 1830–1880* (Princeton, 1963). On the history of the school, see Terry Shinn, *L'École polytechnique, 1794–1914* (Paris, 1980); and Bruno Belhoste et al., eds., *La France des X: Deux siècles d'histoire* (Paris, 1995). For a more recent assessment of the role of the state in the emergence of French industrial capitalism, see Jeff Horn, *The Path Not Taken: French Industrialization in the Age of the Revolution, 1750–1830* (Cambridge MA, 2006).

2. Belhoste, *La formation*, 308–28.

techniciens of great family stature had advantages over others.[3] Moreover, although members of the Galles family circle were comfortable enough economically, René's family income, however calculated, was quite modest compared to that of the average student.[4] Having neither family connections among alumni nor great wealth, he was thus a pioneer, one of a relatively small group of young men whose hard work and academic brilliance consistently saved the reputation of these elite institutions as symbols of postrevolutionary equality of opportunity.[5] Men like René Galles were essential components in the mythology of the revolutionary tradition. It should nevertheless be recalled that even this "scholarship boy" had benefited from his great-aunt's largesse for tuition payments at the best *collège* in western France as well as the preparatory *pension* in Paris, where he possibly owed his admission to his uncle Yves's well-placed friend Erdevan. Still, it goes without saying that however money and connections may have helped, without his mother's constant prodding and solicitude, the encouragement of her generation's near relatives, her aunt's ironclad expectations of him, and his own sheer talent, René would not have made it to the École polytechnique. His history, which we have the rare privilege of following from the inside, illuminates vividly the workings of social ascent in the world of the nineteenth-century notability. It was never just about money and never just about power or even family connections; it was what family members, particularly "those closest to you"—one's uncles and aunts, one's horizontal kin network—actually *did* that made the final difference. It is here where the intimate study of kinship in this era adds a new dimension to the study of modernization and makes its fundamental contribution, for we abandon correlations and their derivative abstractions about class and power. We watch them happen. Personal letters within a family (and here also a memoir based on them) were written for the purpose of communicating in the absence of direct, and unrecorded, daily interaction. They are as close as we are likely to get in historical study to the "practice of everyday life" that governs behavior.

La vie d'un polytechnicien breton

To enter the École polytechnique was not necessarily to become a *polytechnicien*. Indeed, its formidable curriculum ensured that René dedicated himself almost com-

3. Pierre Chalmin made the point nicely: "Let us agree: [the officer corps] was widely and democratically open to all, especially after the institution of examinations and competitions. It was the opposite of a caste. Anyone could become an officer and advance by his own talents, but advancement did not favor [everyone] equally depending on merit. One made one's way with ease and especially rapidly only on the condition of having at one's disposal several well-placed protectors. The army was constituted of diverse clienteles—in the old meaning of the word—living in the comfortable wake of relatives or friends. . . . Sometimes birth could serve; a father, an uncle is already in place; other times an opportune and profitable marriage . . . could procure a powerful protector." This led to *familles militaires* often extending for several generations. We have evidence of this among the military men of Vannes, modest as their place may have been. Pierre Chalmin, *L'officier français de 1815 à 1870* (Paris, 1957), 360.

4. Shinn, *L'École polytechnique*, 63–80.

5. Pierre Bourdieu, *La noblesse d'État: Grandes écoles et esprit de corps* (Paris, 1989), has most effectively argued this point, but nothing, perhaps, about the nature of French society is better known to the public at large for at least 150 years. Christophe Charle's exhaustive study *Les élites de la République (1880–1900)* (Paris, 1987) explores the intertwining of influence and power at the highest levels of government and society during an era when the democratic promise of the Revolution was supposedly fulfilled.

pletely to his studies, with little time for the pleasures of Paris and a social life. His awe set in upon his arrival on November 5, 1838. "It was not without some trepidation that I approached that celebrated portal, at the top of which was Minerva with her mythological bird of the night. I knew that a conscript like myself had to salute this emblem; and it was with my dreaded *anciens* that I was going to have to deal" (3:4). Typically of many memoirs of the École, the trials of the first-year *helots* at the hands of the *anciens* remained fresh in his memory. It was the task of the *absorbeurs* to round into shape the *absorbés*. In a regimen largely verbal and psychological, the upperclassmen wrapped the *helot* in ridicule. In Galles's case it began when he first walked down the hallowed entrance allée. Dressed as his mother expected, he was wearing his best gloves. This affectation did not go unnoticed as the surrounding gauntlet, 120 strong, snickered about his having gotten lost on his way to the theater. And so it went thereafter. In René's case, however, his most painful recollection was his own treatment of a new plebe the following year, a young man he knew from the Collège royal in Nantes. When, amid the shower of insults, Jollan de Clerville recognized a familiar face, he offered his hand and said, "Bonjour, Galles," to which the latter replied coldly, "I do not have the honor of your acquaintance." This then became the rallying cry of the assembled, who chanted, "Who is the *conscrit* who pretends to know *un ancien*?" Although the two saw each other often in the ensuing years, "there long remained a shadow between us" (3:5).

René Galles also explains how long-lasting friendships were first forged at the École:

> An important affair was the organization of the *salles d'étude* [living and study units] for the newcomers. Each study hall included a dozen students. As we were destined to spend nearly the entire day together, it was important that the dispositions of those thus grouped not be antithetical, and such close connection brought about a type of special intimacy that persisted long after leaving school. Even much later in life, when you heard the name of an old comrade, you would say, "He was in my *salle*," and if you ran into him, it was hard to part. Every sergeant major or sergeant was *chef d'un salle*, and his personnel were chosen by lot. But permutations were allowed in such a way as to pretty much get to be with those you wanted. (3:6)

Although military discipline pervaded the school's official ambiance, such flexibility was encouraged by its administration. Future leaders of the nation needed to be situated in compatible relationships, the better to pursue their studies while in school and their careers thereafter. Still, since recruits were randomly selected, few came from the same region, and adjustments maintained that distribution. They were to be part of a *national* elite, after all. The *salle d'étude* laid the foundation for the circle of connections that characterized the paths to success of *polytechniciens*.

René's recollections of his school years place surprisingly little emphasis on his academic life other than how hard he worked. Students were allowed *en ville* only on Wednesday afternoons and Sundays, and since their hour of return was set at 10 p.m., special dispensation had to be granted if they wished to go to the theater or a concert. As befitted a military establishment, the school fixed hours of activity rigidly.

Déjeuner au café began the day, and meals, "simple but very good," were served at three and nine. The well-rounded curriculum went well beyond the classroom and laboratory. René was thrilled with his drawing instruction (he apparently took after his grandfather Marc), taught by renowned artists such as Nicolas Charlet. Physical exercise also broke up the day. René excelled at fencing. Rather small and wiry like most of the men in his family,[6] he realized his best potential by training with the celebrated Lozès, "whose agility dazzled his opponents." He goes on to discuss the bane of the era, but at the core of its ethos of masculinity, the duel.[7] Duels were rare among the young men of the school and among its graduates (perhaps because they were all so well trained in the art), but there had been a death of a promising student at the hand of "one of his comrades" just the year before René's arrival (3:12).

Another nonacademic activity had been suppressed after 1830. This was the chapel, which had been converted into an armory and a library. Church services remained available on Sunday at the nearby Saint-Étienne du Mont, and the *curé* had an obligation to say a mass for the Écoliers in a special chapel. As it turned out, few students attended, and indeed a certain opprobrium seemed to attach to those who did. René was not among them, and "little by little I lost the habit of prayer and with it the consolation that I found again only years later" (3:10). He reminds us of the secularization that perhaps was the most visible consequence of the Revolution of 1830 among the middle class and again reveals that air of bemusement (and often amusement) with regard to the accoutrements of faith that seems to mark most of the men in his families.[8] Although as an older man René himself returned to some degree of spirituality, the Galles' conservative politics and their activities in civil society owed little to the defense of the church and its practices. Throne and altar need have nothing to do with each other.

One of René's most vivid memories, in part because it momentarily "compromised" his and his cohort's promotion, was the Barbès-Blanqui uprising of May 12, 1839.[9] As the movement, sparse as it was, spilled to the Left Bank on the thirteenth after the invasion of the Palais de Justice, rebel bands moved up the Montagne de Sainte Geneviève. Among the many ill-conceived strategies of this affair, its leaders relied on raids on public and private caches to arm the insurgents. It was known that the École possessed several hundred rifles. General de Tholozé, in command, had

6. The only specifics available are Uncle Jean-Marie's substitution certificate of March 27, 1808 (he was nineteen), where his height was listed as 1.580 meters (5 feet 2 inches). Copy, ADM, 2 J 84. This was not unusual among Bretons.

7. See Robert A. Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France* (Berkeley, 1993).

8. Although widespread popular anticlericalism was manifested in the wake of the revolution, the most interesting reality was the rapid decline in clerical recruitment, especially from among the professional bourgeois milieu, after 1830 and the internal critique of the church led by people like Lamennais. But the overriding phenomenon, brought to light in Pierre Rosanvallon's masterwork *Le Moment Guizot*, was the transformation of the dominant political discourse of the new regime, which measured *capacités* (hence the right of political participation) entirely by secular standards. The contrast with popular politics was marked, as Christian visions of equality punctuated its ideology, especially in provincial France, and continued among utopian socialists.

9. For the account that follows, see René Galles, "Journal," 3:12–14. For greater detail, see Gaston Pinet, *Histoire de l'École polytechnique* (Paris, 1887), 226–31; it was never entirely clear what happened.

proposed that royal troops protect its holdings, but the students demanded that they do it themselves, and with his blessing, regular guard shifts had been established the day before. A group of insurgents, "carrying a cadaver," approached the Grille de Boncour, "calling for aid from the École polytechinique on behalf of the people." Almost immediately, a squadron of the municipal guard appeared and began shooting, killing two men "before our very eyes." Many students wanted to go out and disperse the guard, but the general decided to take a vote, assembling the armed students in the courtyard. One hundred fifty-two, including Galles, voted to continue the defense, 102 refused. But this was the moment when the insurrection collapsed; the students did not have to act, avoiding what might have been a chaotic situation.

The following day, however, the *Journal des Débats*, the semiofficial voice of the government and Adèle's favorite, ran a story claiming that the murderous shots had come from within the École, thus proving the loyalty of its student body, which in 1830 had "contributed leaders to the *bourgeoisie parisienne*." Students were outraged by this lie and drafted a letter vehemently demanding a correction and explicitly accused the *garde municipale*. Although de Tholozé toned the letter down, only vaguely noting the presence of the municipal guard, a group of "hotheads" intercepted it and took the original to the *Journal*, which published it the next day. The newspaper firmly denied that the guard was responsible and would not issue a retraction. The upshot rocked the school as forty students were arrested as rebels and the government forced de Tholozé to resign. His successor failed to calm the passions of a deeply divided student body; General Vaillant dis not restore order until two months later. René thus got a dose of the political tensions that were beginning to unsettle the July Monarchy as it moved into the tumultuous decade of the 1840s. René's take on this incident confirms the Orléanist politics of the Galles family.

This does not mean that Adèle was perfectly satisfied with the social values associated with the "bourgeois monarchy." In her letter of January 7, 1840, René's forty-three-year-old mother's nostalgia for past ways is palpable: "We received a visit the other day from a young man whom I like a lot [*que je trouve très bien*]; he struck me as serious, spiritual, talkative without being peremptory, and very polite, which is, in our time, such a pleasing quality because it is becoming so rare. It's M. [Jules] Trochu, student at Saint-Cyr, where he has been received in the *état-major*; he urges you to do the same; it's for you to consider, but as I've said, you are free [to decide]." For Adèle, politesse seemed to have gone the same same way as spirituality with the passing of the Bourbons, though clearly as an avid reader of the *Journal des Débats*, she was happy enough with the politics of the *juste milieu* and would welcome the arrival of Guizot to power. She no doubt lamented René's irregular attendance at mass but said nothing about it at this time. Instead, as we can see here, she was beginning to assume the role of Aunt Marie as a pathfinder for "her men," cultivating connections and offering advice on behalf of their career advancement.

René Galles had benefited in many ways from his great-aunt's solicitude, as had his father and uncles, but he had outshone them all by his great achievement and now must fulfill the dream of membership in a truly national elite. Although one grandfather's cousin had pioneered the family business in Paris and enhanced relations with famous cousins in the arts, another grandfather (after explicitly rejecting the possibil-

ity of a Parisian career) had been elected and appointed to national office, an uncle of that generation had been both a heroic general officer and a deputy, and his father and uncles had traveled afar as military and civil servants of the state (all of them aided in various ways by the ubiquitous influence of "notre tante"), their "national" status was fleeting and unremarkable. It was thus left to the current generation, above all René, to carry the families forward into the world. René's wavering path evoked stern reminders from Adèle: "The distaste for the sciences that you often talk about concerns me a great deal. They are, after all, the heart of your studies. But I count on your reason and good sense. You are in a position that is the object of envy for many people. You must be in a high rank in the school. This is what you should always bear in mind." She softens the stricture by pointing out that the higher his rank, the easier it will be for him simultaneously to "pursue a career following your taste for literature, which I view very positively."[10]

The process would begin with the young man's choice of career in the military. In Adèle's letter of January 7, 1840, she is clear about hers: the *état-major*, the corps of officers who start their ascent in the entourage of general officers as "aides-de-camp or ordnance officers when they have not been earmarked for the Dépot de la Guerre, appointed in an administrative role, or in the elaboration of the map of France." It was the most prestigious service and the basis for the most rapid advancement in the military. Historically it had been dominated by aristocrats, to whom in the nineteenth century were added the sons of neo-nobles and very wealthy *roturiers*; influence, rather than pure merit, remained a crucial factor in recruitment.[11] As it turned out, young Jules Trochu fully realized the potential that an appointment in the *état-major* promised, becoming a leading general during the Second Empire, though he squandered whatever reputation he might have accumulated with his incompetence as military governor of Paris and head of the Council of the Government of National Defense during the siege of Paris by the Prussians in 1870–71.[12]

Adèle's ambitions for her son confirm that she thought—as she had long reminded him—that he was destined for great things. It would be on his own terms, however, and the complexity and anxieties of being the chosen one continued to unfold. "I had another career in mind, a career that in my imagination represented the most beautiful of all to which I might be called and to which Raymond Thomassy contributed more than a little of my enthusiasm. It was the navy." Thomassy was a brilliant young professor of history and geography at the École. He had already published several articles on diverse problems in the architectural history of medieval Languedoc, his native *pays*, but was currently working on France's overseas relations, both contempo-

10. ADM, 2 J 80, undated (first page missing) but marked by René in sorting it "1839."

11. William Serman, *Les origines des officiers français (1848–1870)* (Paris, 1979), 337–39, quote 337.

12. On Trochu, see Jean Brunet-Moret, *Le général Trochu, 1815–1896* (Paris, 1955); Henri Guillemin, *Cette curieuse guerre de 70: Thiers, Trochu, Bazaine* (Paris, 1956); and Stéphane Rials, *De Trochu à Thiers, 1870–1873* (Paris, 1985). His elevation, typical perhaps of an *état-major* recruit, may well have been due more to influence than to innate talent. Victor Hugo left this assessment of Trochu for posterity: "le participe passé du verbe 'trop choir," that is, *trop chu*, meaning roughly "gave up too often." Quoted in Frank Jellinek, *The Paris Commune of 1871* (New York, 1965), 62. Trochu's version of events may by found in his *Oeuvres posthumes*, vol. 1, *Le siège de Paris* (Tours, 1896).

rary (Algeria, Morocco, and the Eastern Question) and in the age of Louis XIV, as well as on the early history of European geographical knowledge of the wider world.[13] René thought that the navy, which every year took three or four Polytechnique graduates because of their "éducation scientifique supérieure," would best allow him to merge his passion for the humanities (and global perspectives) with his technical expertise, so gruelingly acquired (3:15, 17).

His decision was surely also influenced by his great admiration for his uncle René, who now captained a warship based at Lorient. Unfortunately, René recalled, upon being consulted about his choice, his uncle "did not encourage me at all to follow this path. He felt that the satisfaction offered in the role of a brilliant officer of a warship, by the grandiose spectacles of the sea, by interesting voyages carrying you to different parts of the world, hardly compensated for the monotony of the cruise itself and especially for the heartache of leaving behind, for years, a beloved wife, cherished children, a happy home life." At the time, the twenty-year-old "scarcely thought about marriage" and, "with my natural *légèreté*," continued to dream of the sea (3:20). The death at sea of Bertin Galles no doubt also weighed on the minds of Adèle and the entire family. His mother's letters skirted any direct pressure on René to change his mind, but she emphasized that he was now at an age when "responsibility" for his future was fully in his own hands. She also sought his advice, as she would a spouse's, on matters of importance, beginning with the decision to sell her share of the "house of our fathers" to his uncle Galles. Writing on March 10, 1840, she defined what that responsibility would mean: "Henceforth, I'd like to consult you on all our affairs and would hope that my counselor would give up the idea of traveling the world."

René was now bearing down on his studies, for his class rank would determine which of his three choices for public service would be realized. He had few diversions, save for an occasional evening at the Théâtre français and the Opéra comique with cousin Louis Le Ridant, who was studying law at the university. Although papers, presentations, and examinations in the course of the last year contributed to one's position, "the influence of the exit examinations was enormous and definitive. On these supreme ordeals, four in number, depended our destinies and careers." René well understood that while one might have his heart set on the excitement of a military officer's life, low placement might force him to become a "director of a state tobacco factory" (3:20). Anxieties were rampant in the final year and gave rise to a carnival evening called *bal des fruit-secs*, where marginal students were compared to novice nuns, a vulgar term for women entering the holy orders. The ongoing cruelty of nineteenth-century schooling, even at this level, arises once more.

13. Though hardly a household name today, Thomassy published widely for two decades after the mid-1830s. The Bibliothèque nationale possesses twenty-six of his books and monographs, including *Découverte et restitution de l'autel de Saint Guillaume, parent de Charlemagne et fondateur de Saint-Guillem-le-Désert* (1838), *Jean Gerson et le grand schisme d'Occident* (1852), *De la colonisation militaire de l'Algérie* (1840), *La question d'Orient sous Louis XIV* (1846), *Le Maroc, relations de la France avec cet Empire* (1859), *Missions et pêcheries, ou Politique maritime et religieuse de la France* (1853), and *Les Papes géographes et la cartographie du Vatican* (1852).

But René was confident enough to list only military options as his career choices: *la marine, l'artillerie de terre, l'artillerie de marine. Polytechniciens* were much sought after in the artillery corps because their training in mathematics and the physical sciences ensured a high degree of competence in a military specialty growing ever more technically complex and ever more important in strategic planning.[14] He nevertheless remained steadfast in his preference for the navy, above all as a commanding officer, rather than the inherently surrogate position of a naval artillery officer, his third choice. Still, a certain romance surrounded these men, called *bigourneaux* (anvilmen) in the service, to whom a song (quoted by René) attributed an attraction among the women of the Antilles, whether they be "blanc, rouge ou cuivre." "Voilà l'vrai bigourneau français!" (3:22).

René was to be examined in three scientific fields: calculus, physics, and astronomy. His fourth was history and geography with Thomassy. Calculus remained his bugbear, so he devised an unusual study plan. He literally had himself locked up in the school jail, choosing the appropriate offense (reentry after midnight) for a week's sentence. Day and night he labored, ultimately covering the walls with formulas, which, he notes, in his state of near dementia seemed to glow red in the pale light. (Had he been reading about de Sade's last days?) In any case, he wore himself out and knew his performance was only "mediocre." He compensated, however with excellent work for Babinet in astronomy and Montferrant in physics. René finished his exams in late September 1840. It was a turbulent moment in the history of Paris, racked with fear over the Eastern Question and an unprecedented wave of strikes, but even more so in his family's life, as a tragic series of events came to a conclusion.

Aunt Marie: Power and Betrayal

Aunt Marie Jollivet Le Ridant, whose health was failing, had delivered a crushing blow to the family and indeed, potentially, to the larger operation of the kinship system of Vannes. Adèle explained the opening round to René on April 13, 1840:

> I write in a moment of extreme sorrow. A few days ago I was the happiest of mothers, for the excellent Jules Le Ridant was courting your sister. Everyone . . . was ecstatic. This union offered all the guarantees one could hope for: Jules is off to a good start in his career as a navy officer and has the highest moral standards; he is in excellent health, and his appearance pleases your sister. He is quite knowledgeable, has a quick mind, excellent judgment, and more valuable than all that, a delicate soul, a caring sensibility. His fortune you know; from that perspective, this was beyond all hope. He asks for your sister without a dowry from her. M. et Madame Le Ridant, our friends always, have nothing so much in their hearts as this union.

14. Serman notes (*Origines*, 342–43) that *polytechniciens* were numerous in artillery and *génie* (the corps of engineers), most coming, like René, from upper-middling bourgeois backgrounds.

One cannot imagine a more perfect description of the qualities expected of a prospective nineteenth-century bridegroom, whose many attributes, including physical attractiveness, are outweighed by sensibility. Of course the fact that his father, Alexis, was among the wealthiest men in the region and the little family's limited means would not be stretched by a dowry did not hurt either. Adèle could also think about her own experience. Cécile and Jules were cousins (actually step-cousins, once removed) who, like Adèle and Eugène, had grown up together and now graced the same circles for balls and special events of Morbihan high society.

There was a catch, however: "Jules went to our aunt first, hoping that this token of trust would increase the possibility of her consent. She welcomed him by speaking ill of his father and mother, saying painful things to him personally," and even expressed doubt that Cécile loved him. The young ensign returned twice more, but to no avail. His mother, Virginie, made the case as well, but was greeted with verbal abuse that Adèle would not repeat. Marie was threatening to disinherit Cécile if the marriage took place. Alexis Le Ridant actually wept. Cried Adèle: "To refuse the son of one's husband's brother! A match such as this your sister could never find again, for she does *not change families* and stays here."[15] Adèle was simply beside herself with rage. Alexis thought Marie had "lost her mind."

But Adèle was almost certain that she knew the reason. It had to do with Virginie's family, especially the scandal surrounding her brother Joseph Danet, the embezzler convicted in absentia in 1816. Her father, the famous Jean-Joseph, was also suspected of shady dealings, the main reason why his estate had taken three years to settle (in 1823). While Adèle thought that "many people felt sorry for [Joseph] and no one in town remembers it," Aunt Marie was clearly an exception and no doubt had harbored ill feelings toward Virginie and Alexis for years, kept under wraps during the lifetime of her husband. She also seems to have regarded Cécile as a distant third among the Galles children, exemplified in her abrupt refusal to continue paying for the girl's music lessons when René was at the *pension* Bourdon in Paris, only to be shamed into reversing her decision when Julienne Jollivet (she never liked Captain René's Le Bouhéllec wife much either) volunteered to take over.[16] Finally, it should be remembered that both the Danets and Le Bouhéllecs were politically well to her left; Cécile herself seems to have been closer to their world than to her own. In her late years after the death of her husband, Marie probably saw herself losing control in the family while perhaps glorying in the memory of her closeness to the royal family and her place in Tout-Paris during the reign of Louis XVIII at this moment when the regime of Louis Philippe appeared to be losing its grip. Did she see this situation as her last chance to express both aspects of her personality?

Adèle concludes her long letter by imploring René "to follow your heart," write to Aunt Marie, and "stress her responsibility before your father, before God, for what she

15. Emphasis added.

16. René felt guilty about this all his life because he thought perhaps his aunt's largesse to him (her 1,000 franc contribution to his study for the École exams) so significantly overshadowed this pittance for Cécile. He goes on about this incident at length in his "Journal" (2:59–60).

is doing." Before he had time to write, another letter arrived from his mother, dated April 17. Cécile, in fact, had not been aware of Aunt Marie's behavior because she was visiting the Jollivets in Lorient. She returned on the fifteenth, having been informed about the crisis. Her mother marvels at her bearing as the extended family assembled at the Galles' ancestral home. Aunt Marie was not invited. It was quickly resolved that Cécile would go to discuss the matter with her aunt, accompanied by her godfather, Uncle Yvon Jollivet. But Marie had a houseful of guests, and Cécile was barely acknowledged.

> Two hours later, this dear child returned with your uncle Galles and Yvon. My aunt was affectionate toward Cécile and more receptive than we had dared hope. She told Cécile that she did not think that she was involved *in this intrigue* and that Jules too was exempt from wrongdoing. She then focused her ire on me, speaking with much bitterness, and was nasty as well to your uncle Galles, who was quite happy to be the scapegoat. Yvon said to her, "In short, my aunt, you would love Cécile and look upon her as in the past and you would accept Jules also." [Marie] replied, "I will be for Cécile what I have always been, *in nearly all respects*, and I will see Jules with pleasure when presented by her." Let us hope, my son, that our poor aunt will come back to us; I love her enough that I will be unhappy if she does not.[17]

These last words resemble those Adèle wrote to Eugène when their aunt objected to their marriage twenty-two years before, though with this crucial difference: "love her enough" is substituted for "love her too much." Now herself the matriarch, Adèle had reached her limit with regard to her aunt's will to control.

Adèle and the family thus remained unsure of their aunt's intentions. She now asked René, Marie's chosen one, to write his aunt a brief and loving letter on behalf of his sister, perhaps to draw her out a bit more, which he did. The family decided to proceed with the marriage, for everyone agreed with Adèle's assessment of its virtues and Cécile made clear her attraction to Jules, in the hope that their aunt would "come back." The wedding took place on two lovely days in May 1840, the civil ceremony, officiated by Mayor Amand Taslé, witnessed by uncles and cousins of both bride and groom, and attended by a flock of family members and the best and brightest of Vannes society, including Prefect Lorois and his family, followed on the nineteenth with a lavish mass at the cathedral. But there was a shadow over these happy events. Marie Jollivet Le Ridant decided to retire to her husband's family property in nearby Saint-Gildas three days before—and did not return until July 12. Clearly she had not "come back" to them.

As René moved into his final round of study in Paris, as Félix finished his next-to-last year at the Collège royal de Nantes, and Cécile and Jules settled into their new home in Lorient, where the ensign awaited his assignment, Aunt Marie took to her bed at Adèle's house in Vannes. By September, as Adèle wrote in her last letter to her

17. Adèle to René, April 13 and 17, 1840, ADM, 2 J 80.

son in Paris on the twenty-sixth, Dr. Mauricet pronounced Marie's condition terminal. Her "fever" would not relent. One can imagine the atmosphere throughout the family in the city: Marie's brother-in-law and good Virginie heartbroken by her stern rebuke of them, steady Yvon and Zuma perplexed and angry, Galles—the most public of the clan—searching for ways to explain his famous aunt's bizarre behavior, and all of them finding it difficult to work up much sympathy for her as the day approached. As for Adèle, always at the fulcrum point in the balance between Marie's power and love, a certain steely calm seems to have taken over. In her letter of the twenty-sixth she appears more concerned that her aunt's condition would ruin René's arrival home with his friend Bouteiller than with her impending death: "We will try to make your friend forget, by a gracious welcome, the lack of comfort in our *maisonette*; but I have one fear, my child, and it's that the unfortunate state [*fâcheux état*] of our aunt Leridant will cast a pall over a visit that I so much want to be pleasant."[18] Given the tepid terms used here, Adèle may have felt some relief when the old lady passed on three days before the two young men arrived. It occurred, ironically, on September 29, 1840, René's twenty-first birthday.

In the aftermath, the extent of Marie Jollivet Le Ridant's bitter turn became fully evident. René records it in his memoirs. Speaking for his siblings, he says: "We loved her with all our heart from our earliest childhood, and even though, according to the will her death had just revealed, she broke her promises to us, our tears were sincere. It tore my mother's heart apart to see her children stripped [*dépouillés*] of the fortune that had been *bought* by the premature death of their father. Cécile received not one mite [*abole*], Félix and I each got a gift of 17,000" (3:26–27). This represented less than 10 percent of her total worth. Most of the rest went to various charities and institutions, along with modest amounts to her many nieces and nephews.

The goals, enterprise, and personality of Marie Le Ridant have been clearly visible throughout this story. No one in these families played a more important and consistent role in their rise to national status. Although not a *salonnière*, she fully participated in Parisian high society during the Restoration, playing upon her friendship with the king's sister's lady-in-waiting and ensuring, with appropriate *démarches*, that her brother, husband, and nephews received the consideration and advantages that they doubtless merited, but which others of equal talent but without such inside influence might well have been denied. We saw in the greatest detail how Eugène always met the right people wherever he went and Adèle was presented in Tout-Paris, how Eugène and especially his cousin-brother René moved up the ranks. We have less detail on Jean-Marie Le Ridant's debt to his wife or René Jollivet's to his sister (and nothing at all on Jean-Baptiste Jollivet's or Bertin Galles's in their military careers), but her connections no doubt made a difference for them in similar ways. Marie radiated aristocracy in an era when that made an enormous difference. She was never more than a ball or a soirée or a *visite intime* away from direct communication with the royal family: recall the famous stop by the duchesse de Berry at Pont-Sal. Locally, that radiance shone profitably on the advancing social and economic capital of Jean-Marie

18. Adèle to René, September 26, 1840, ibid.

Galles, prosperous publisher, official, and civil society activist, of Yves Jollivet, busy *notaire* and city official, and no doubt even of her brother-in-law Alexis, despite her disapproval of his wife. Her role in all the marriages of the next generation, so central to the consolidation of *haute-bourgeois* status, has been clear. And she knew, better than anyone else, how important she had been in all their lives—and demanded rigid adherence to the rules of the game as she saw them. Alexis had obviously deviated, but Marie's influence in 1811 was only hypothetical, as the royal exile community awaited the fall of the tyrant whom her husband was soon to defy. All the rest made certain her wishes were consonant with theirs. Adèle and Eugène slipped up a bit but rectified their relationship with her before their marriage. But in the affair of Cécile and Jules, the entire family turned against her, and from her grave she made them pay.

Marie's role and personality were typical of many upper-class (mostly aristocratic) women of her day. They did have a certain power, not in their own right, perhaps, but as go-betweens, enablers, patrons. Artists, writers, and musicians, businessmen, professionals, public servants, and politicians—all the men who made France and its culture (and made certain they were dominated by the nation's shifting elite) had their "muses" and their social coordinators. The latter exercised their power discreetly but certainly had a sense of their influence and wore it proudly. As Steven Kale has argued, however, even for that pinnacle of feminine presence in political life, "the power of salonnières, in short, was merely a rhetorical phantom, a hazy abstraction built on resentment and conjecture." Madame Émile de Girardin, certainly one of the nineteenth-century's most politically aware women, captured the nature of feminine concrete influence in these words written in the 1850s: "Women are not made to act, but to command, which is to say inspire: to counsel, hinder, ask, [and] obtain."[19] The contradictions of "aristocratic feminism" are thus put in a nutshell. The frustrations of those women working in such a world have not received much attention, probably because of the absence (or ignoring) of intimate correspondence reflecting them. In the case of Marie Le Ridant, for whom we at least have such correspondence, we see a person who demands from those "who love her most" grateful appreciation and obedience. And, it would seem, as her "power" in the outside world faded (and according to Kale and Maurice Agulhon this was a general phenomenon during the July Monarchy as male-only sociability of the club and the circle came into vogue),[20] that demand hardened, if countered, into spite.

The death of Aunt Marie and the shock of her will indeed poisoned René's homecoming. His mother urged him and Bouteiller to visit the newlyweds in Lorient. Jules had been assigned to the brig *La Peyrouse*, bound for Saint-Domingue, and was due to depart in the near future. He had arranged for the aspiring naval officer to accompany

19. Steven Kale, *French Salons: High Society and Political Sociability from the Old Regime to the Revolution of 1848* (Baltimore, 2004), 152, 222 (quoting Girardin's *Vicomte de Launay: Lettres parisiennes*). On Girardin, see Whitney Walton, *Eve's Proud Descendants: Four Women Writers and Republican Politics in Nineteenth- Century France* (Stanford, 2000).

20. Kale, *French Salons*, chap. 6; Maurice Agulhon, *Le cercle dans la France bourgeoise, 1810–1848* (Paris, 1977), pt. 2. Denise Davidson traces the decline of women's political influence (seen especially in public events and public spaces) in the later Restoration in her fascinating study *France after the Revolution: Urban Life, Gender, and the New Social Order* (Cambridge, MA, 2007).

him should René receive his first choice upon graduating from the École polytechnique. After a day's outing to Hennebont to visit the Le Montagners (where he noticed that his lovely cousin Marie was no longer a child), he returned to find "waiting for me a red seal that I broke with feverish anxiety. I was an army artillery officer." Heart set on the navy, he was hard to console for a while, but both his seagoing uncle and his mother soothed his disappointment while they hid their joy. In January 1841 he reported to the artillery school in Metz as Sous-Lieutenant (Étudiant) René Galles, embarking on a military career that would be as brilliant as it was personally unrewarding.

But he had carried the family banner into the world of the national *haute bourgeoisie*. As he said toward the end of his memoirs (which he terminates in 1841), his society would be that of his fellow *polytechniciens* and their various circles: nearly all of the men of his *promotion* (the class of 1837) when they met for their fiftieth reunion were "general officers or placed in the highest levels of the hierarchy of civil careers," both within the government and in the private sector, and indeed in the church. René also remarks that by 1887 the École polytechnique had lost a bit of its luster, an accurate statement. The École normale supérieur and others among the *grands écoles*, serving a wider purpose in a society less entranced by technology than in the glory days of mid-century, had risen in prestige at its expense.[21] And by that time, René himself now practiced, in his retirement, one of the most exciting of the *sciences humaines*, prehistorical research and archaeology.

The Kinship Elite

For the Galles and Jollivet circle, the 1840s mixed the blessings of more weddings, new babies, and blossoming careers with death, now stalking Adèle's generation. An expanding matrix of kin connections brought them fully into the core of the region's elite, while junior members, like Félix Galles (who studied law in Paris and Rennes and then embarked on a career in the Ministry of Justice, culminating in a procurer-generalship and the Cour de Cassation), Stanislas Jollivet (Adèle's youngest brother, who ended a legal career as first *conseiller* of the Cour d'Appel of Rennes), Jules Jollivet (Captain René's son, a Saint-Cyrien, who became an army general), Louis Le Ridant (who rose to prominence as a Parisian lawyer), Jules Le Ridant (who advanced rapidly in the navy only to die young), cousin-by-marriage Jules Trochu (whose trajectory from the *état-major* we know), Adolphe Billault (Joséphine Le Monnier Galles's cousin, who became minister of the interior under Napoléon III), and Émile Jourdan (another Le Monnier cousin and Pont-Aven artist, 1860–1941)—to name a few—joined René Galles en route to the national bourgeoisie. Our knowledge of the inner lives of the Galles thins somewhat in the absence of René's memoirs and a steady stream of saved letters from his mother, but a brief reminiscence by Jules Jollivet adds some vitality to the story.

21. An interesting memoir similar to René's tells the parallel story of a more famous Breton and his experiences at the École normale, which he attended from 1833 to 1836: Jules Simon, *Premières années* (Paris, 1901), 115–207.

With Aunt Marie gone, Adèle Jollivet Galles emerged as the hub of the families' internal business as well as the source of information about local life and politics for far-flung members. Although only her letters to René and a handful to Cécile and to Marie Lallemand, her sister, have been preserved, it is clear from these that she carried on an enormous correspondence with relatives that in fact defined her kinship universe. She kept up with the most distant—her cousins on the Île de France (Réunion), the children and grandchildren of her father's oldest brother, Augustin, who became a planter there—whom she mentions in a letter to René of May 18, 1839, noting that they have seen a lot of Colonel Sérec, also a distant relative, who had been instrumental in Eugène's last promotion. On June 4 she wonders if her brother René, despite his honors (he was now a chevalier of both the Légion d'Honneur and the Ordre de St. Ferdinand d'Espagne), might be stuck at *capitaine de corvette* for as long as the recently promoted Sérec. She also remained in touch with their "Paris cousins," the Audran descendants, who entertained Louis Le Ridant and then Félix, whose looser schedule as law students made it possible, more than they had René. During the forties, her brother Stanislas was moving his way up in the office of the *procureur-général* of Rennes, reaching the position of *substitut* (deputy) *procureur* by 1845. His correspondence helped her keep abreast of the deeds of Félix, who does not appear to have been the best of correspondents. By that time he had finished his thesis for his *licence* at Paris, which was published by Galles, who thought it "very good." Stanislas was at work to find him a place. As Adèle wrote to René on December 19, 1845: "M. Dubodan [from a prominent Vannes family] was due to leave Algers for Rennes the 17th. We are still hoping that he will find a place for Félix in the prosecutor's office: while attesting his goodwill, he does not yet want to give a formal promise about it." As it turned out, "goodwill" worked for the best, and Félix came on board in 1846, while also completing his doctorate in law at the University of Rennes. This report, of course, once again underlines the fact that no matter how meritorious a person might be, actually getting the job (promotion, etc.) still depended in part on connections, usually of the kinship sort.

The names of virtually all of Adèle's relatives of her generation and her children's, as well as remaining aunts and uncles, dot her letters to René, either as correspondents or as visitors. This included the Saint-Brieuc branch, the Pruhommes, established by her great-aunt's daughter (Le Jeune), and a variety of Marquers and Kercados. And while "Mademoiselle Autissier" died shortly after Eugène's sister, Cécile, there is mention in an 1850 letter of her nephew, who was becoming a well-known artist.

Hers was also a rapidly expanding kinship universe, as new marriages in the late thirties and forties added more connections and, through cousin marriage, reinforced those already in place. The most important for Adèle personally, of course, was that of Cécile and Jules Le Ridant, but others had greater significance for the families' links among the department's bourgeois elite. On May 31, 1837, Adèle's favorite little sister, Marie, now twenty-three, married Alfred Lallemand, a lawyer trained in Paris (recall his shepherding of young René when he was studying for the École), whose father (from Auray) had been an army officer and now owned extensive properties in Carnac. The bride and groom were indirectly related though Germain Morand, the grain dealer turned archivist, Marie's great-uncle by his first marriage to a Danet

and Alfred's "cousin-german by marriage" via his second. Lallemand was Jean-Marie Galles's protégé in the Société polymathique and a towering figure there in his later years. Exactly one year later, Josephine Marquer, daughter of Adèle's cousin Clément, was united with Edmond Pradier, a naval officer and son of César Pradier, one of Vannes's leading politicians and currently Jean-Marie Galles's colleague on the Conseil de la Préfecture. This opened a connection to Pradier's vast network of prominent kin, mostly people on the Bonapartist-Orléanist center-left. Prefect Lorois witnessed for the groom.

The following March (1839), Jean-Marie Le Ridant, the middle son of Alexis and Virginie, married Marie Favin, who was born in Fontainebleau, where her father died in 1816, a retired *chef de bataillon* in the elite Garde impériale, followed by her mother in 1832; her grandfather, her legal guardian, was *juge de paix* at Cette (Hérault), but she had been introduced in Vannes society by her uncle Philippe Châtain, inspector for excise taxes in the city. The match added luster to the Ridants' outward kin connections and another tie to the political center-left. Two years later, Marie Favin's sister Louise married Joseph Bonneville, a customs agent in Vannes who was born in Marseille and was the son of the *receveur principale des douanes* at the Entrepôt des Sels in Paris. Again, such connections could only redound to the Ridants' benefit. Vannes by this time was developing a considerable group of professionals from elsewhere who were integrating into the city's elite via marriage. This was another aspect of the "nationalization" of the Vannetais bourgeoisie.

In August 1839 one of the Galles family's most fruitful exogamous marriages was celebrated when Adelaïde Pavin, the firstborn girl issuing from the "Enfants Galles" (1814), wed Marius Charrier, a young architect (and son of one) from Noirmoutier (Vendée), who had come to Vannes as the town's official surveyor and would in the future play a key role in city planning and development as well as in its intellectual life. Fanny Galles Pavin, now a widow for some fourteen years along with Adèle, was delighted, as was the entire family: Galles and Yvon witnessed, and everyone, including a new Adèle Galles, Jean-Marie's nine-year-old daughter, signed the register.

A less well attended marriage had occurred a month earlier, when François-Marie Jollivet wed Jeanne-Marie Pélauque. He was the only son of Adèle's oldest brother, François (the son of Jeanne Le Ridant), who had died in 1821. When François-Marie's mother died in 1834, he became the ward of his grandfather Nicolas Castelot, a wealthy landlord with properties in Lorient and Vannes. The groom was only eighteen at the time of his wedding. The father of his twenty-one-year-old bride had a solid position in Vannes as divisional customs inspector and was a relative of the Favins. Jeanne-Marie Pélauque had been born in Saint-Gaudens in the Pyrenees. None of the witnesses were relatives (instead, three important local officials and Dr. Yves-Bon Jan de la Gilliardaie, a nobleman and civil society activist, served), and the only Jollivet to sign the register was the groom's older sister Anne. There is no correspondence about the wedding from Adèle to her son, though François-Marie is mentioned positively later on by her and by Jules Jollivet in his memoirs. He added his grandfather's name to his own and went on to a successful career in politics, finally serving as mayor of Vannes and as a deputy from 1852 to the year of his early death in 1854. It is unlikely that antagonism, either social or political, kept the Jollivet-Galles clan away from the

celebration (their friend and relative Mayor Amand Taslé officiated), but it may well be that François-Marie sought their blessing and it was refused because of his age. In the end, of course, his prominence seems to have softened whatever misgivings the family might have had at the time.

I have already discussed the significance of the Thubé-Trochu connections, which were re-cemented in 1840 with marriages by Adolphe Thubé into the Burgault family (and all its moderate-left political ties) and Adèle Thubé to Eugène Trochu (and his family's staunch conservatism). Both weddings were witnessed by Stanislas Jollivet, whose wife was a Thubé. Adèle mentions the latter nuptials, which she attended, in her letter to René praising the politesse and career decision of Jules Trochu. In August 1841, César Pradier himself (now a chevalier of the Légion d'Honneur) tied in with the Galles' circle of relatives through his marriage (his third) to Euphémie Lorvol, the youngest daughter, now twenty-nine, of their former doctor, dear friend, and distant cousin. Witnesses included the new scion of the liberal Le Febvrier family, Julien, a judge and arrondissement council member. The same month Alfred Lallemand's sister Eugénie married Jean-Jacques Le Hécho, an established *notaire* in Auray and the son and brother of mayors of Saint-Gildas, relinking the next generation with the elites of these small cities where the Jollivets and the Le Ridants had deep roots.[22]

The pleasure of watching new ties develop and expecting new additions to the panoply of relatives already surrounding her soon gave way to sorrow as Adèle's older siblings began to face a reality that continued to stalk the family: early death. René Jollivet, forty-three, seemed in in the prime of life. He had recently been promoted to *capitaine de corvette*; his children René and Jules were energetic, if sometimes sickly, preteens (though he saw less of them than he wished, for his duties often took him to sea as war clouds continued to hover and the English harassed French slavers); his wife, Julienne, had made his château Le Truhélin the jewel of Arradon and the family flocked to it every summer; his younger sisters and niece had married happily and well; and last but hardly least, his nephew René, the leader of the next generation, had recently graduated from the École polytechnique. But as he was beginning another voyage in 1842, a malady that was never clearly diagnosed forced him to debark at Brest and return home. After almost a year of various treatments in Vannes, his doctors counseled a long visit to the baths of Luchon in the Pyrenees. His son Jules Jollivet remembered every moment of the trip to the beautiful high country near the source of the Garonne. They had their own apartment. Besides his father's regular regimen in the baths, the family spent a great deal of time in the crystalline mountain air, including horseback treks, and there seemed hope for real improvement. But upon their return, things deteriorated. René Jollivet died in November 1843, "having before him a glorious future."[23]

In July 1845, Adèle wrote René about the aftermath of a shattering event in the household of her brother Yvon, the death of his twenty-year-old son, René-Yves, a

22. ADM, 4 E 260 (Vannes): May 31, 1837; May 30, 1838; July 7, 1839; August 16, 1839; January 6, 1840; May 8, 1840; August 18, 1841; August 22, 1841; August 25, 1841. We are again reminded of the vast store of information that can be gleaned from French official marriage records, especially after the Revolution.

23. Jules Jollivet, untitled memoir [1899], 2, ADM, 2 J 86.

student in Paris, who, according to his death certificate, died in Pau, a victim of consumption.[24] "Yvon remains so sad, spending the moments that he steals from his work reliving the emotions when Zuma put away the clothing and other effects of their poor child. . . . His health is not good. Zuma, while she says she wants distraction and desires visitors, never goes out on the streets of Vannes." The loss of their eldest understandably exacerbated a tension in their marriage that Adèle had long worried about. She attributed it to Zuma's family (echoing Aunt Marie here a bit), of whom she never entirely approved: nouveau riche (Zuma's father was among the largest buyers of *biens nationaux*) political opportunists. She lamented—in surprising disagreement with many members of her family, including René—that Yvon had "wed a being so different from himself." Yvon, however, had clearly accommodated himself to the Orléanist purchase of the Kerviche family. It is likely that Adèle was grasping frantically at explanations for the misery afflicting her beloved brother, now the scion of the Jollivet family locally.[25]

Other deaths overtook the family at nearly the same time. We learn from another letter of July 1845 that Clément Marquer, Adéle's uncle and *notaire* of Vannes, had passed away at a more expected age of sixty-two, but "poor Pauline [his widow] is deeply distressed by this loss that leaves her in a grand and mournful solitude." Edmond Pradier, whose union with the Marquer daughter Joséphine first tied the Galles-Jollivet world in kinship to that illustrious family, at the time was missing at sea and presumed lost, leaving the family doubly stricken. Miraculously, his ship reappeared after being incommunicado for months, and Edmond, along with his two brothers, went on to a distinguished career in the navy. But death, as they knew well, always stalked those who crossed the oceans. And it visited them directly, for Jules Le Ridant, whose career was just taking off, was on another ship that indeed went down in a storm late in 1843. Adèle's letters to René from this era have not been preserved (perhaps he gave them to Cécile), so we cannot share the family's shock and grief in any detail. By 1845 Adèle can write about Cécile and "our little imp," Jules, their only child, who were living with her at Poulhaut, with an air of normalcy. General Jules Jollivet fondly recalled his aunt and cousin, the "two gracious widows," and pleasant visits to their villa in Arradon in the late forties. Two deaths (and one near miss) of naval officers in the family within a year: one can imagine how silently content was Adèle that René's grades in calculus had kept him on dry land.

His future was secured as well by the place of his extended family in a network that linked almost all of the non-noble elite of Vannes in a vast grid of kinship. Here is where their story merges with the larger picture of bourgeois class formation. Although there had been some bourgeois-aristocratic marriages, for the most part old regime nobles married among themselves, as did a small group of professionals of modest means on the neo-Jacobin left. The new officialdom of the July Monarchy was not really so new, since many of those elected and appointed came from families of prominence during the Empire and indeed the Revolution. In this Vannes was

24. Décès, 1844, ADM, 4 E.
25. Adèle to René, July 1845 (from postmark), ADM, 2 J 80.

rather typical of the rest of France, though its "Orléanism" was on the conservative side.[26] As we have already seen in the case of the Galles and their relatives, the most interesting trend, however, was toward marriages that brought families of disparate political backgrounds together, thus consolidating a politically moderate—whether left-leaning or right-leaning—bourgeois elite. Their participation in governance and paid public service was matched by their activity in civil society. The centrality of the Galles–Jollivet–Le Ridant nexus is striking, for in fact it was they who largely served to bury the antagonisms of the revolutionary past in the fertile soil of a new, politically tolerant kinship system.

This elite's kinship universe consisted of several linked galaxies. Unlike in the natural universe, however, while certain tendencies toward expansion are visible in the outreach marriages that each family seems to have reserved for at least one sibling, the general movement was toward contraction—either through actual consanguineous marriages (about one-third of the marriages in my sample are between first and second cousins, half cousins, or step-cousins) or reconnecting with alliances (in-laws) made in the past. It becomes quite astonishing to realize that virtually any public gathering—various council meetings (city, arrondissement, department, prefecture), meetings of the electoral college, public boards such as those for poor relief, vaccination, or hospitals, charitable organizations, and voluntary associations like the Freemasons or the Société polymathique, as well as musical or theatrical productions and the various functions dotting the annual calendar of any *chef-lieu départemental*—would, like the intimate soirée in town or country, bring together not just familiar faces but people who were almost always no more than one family tie away from one another.

Thus, when Jean-Marie Galles shook hands with Vincent Caradec (of whom Adèle had approved as president of the Tribunal civil in 1819) when the État civil committee sat down for its monthly meeting, or played billiards with him at the club, or debated geology with him at their learned society gatherings, he was talking to more than a friend. Indeed their families' differing politics in the past had certainly made friendship problematic, since Vincent's father, Ambroise, was a classic revolutionary-Bonapartist. But family connections dated far back into the past. Two Caradecs had witnessed the marriage of Jean-Marie's wife, Joséphine Le Monnier's, grandparents in 1770. Moreover, Ambroise Caradec's mother was a Le Guern from Sarzeau, the birthplace of Galles's great-uncle and aunt Jean-Baptiste Le Ridant and Jeanne Le Gueranic. Moreover, their son, the now famous Jean-Marie Le Ridant, had as godparents in 1776 his older sister Jeanne (who would marry René Jollivet in 1787) and his uncle Le Gueranic. The close similarity of names, especially among the small elite of bourgeois proprietors of Sarzeau from which both Le Guern and Le Gueranic sprang, makes some family tie likely. Ambroise's first wife, though not Vincent's mother, was a Marzant of Sarzeau.

Obviously a lot of water had flowed under the bridge since then, but the Caradec connection was dramatically strengthened in the Jean-Marie Galles–Joséphine Le Monnier marriage of 1822, analyzed earlier, which linked the Galles to the huge constellation of ties among the Jamets and Jourdans, thus opening the way to the

26. See David Pinckney's trenchant analysis of the political turnover nationwide in "Purge and Replacement," chap. 9 of *The French Revolution of 1830* (Princeton, 1972).

Thomas-Ducordics, Thomas-Closmadeucs, Lucas-Bourgarels, Glaises, and Hervieus. At the heart of it was Caradec. Having first married a Lucas-Bourgarel in 1821, he took as his second wife Jourdan's last daughter, Aimée, in 1829. Caradec and Jean-Marie Galles, though (apparently) unrelated by heredity, nonetheless might call each other cousin, if only by marriage. Vincent would become as prominent in his field—as an *homme politique*, a deputy, and president of the Conseil général—as Jean-Marie woud in his: the soul of the Société polymathique for forty years. And both would spawn descendants of equal or greater stature (Albert Caradec, a son by Aimée Jourdan, longtime conservative deputy during the Third Republic; Louis Galles, son, and René Galles, nephew, both major figures in the Société's archaeological work at the same time). And indeed, their families would reconnect late in the nineteenth century when Vincent Caradec's grandson Léon Lallement II, now the proprietor of Pont-Sal, which his grandfather Jean had purchased in 1833, would marry Adèle and Eugène Galles's granddaughter. Jean Lallement had succeeded François Jollivet-Castelot to become the longtime mayor of Vannes during the Second Empire. Léon II was himself a late nineteenth-century activist in the Société polymathique as well as a city councilman and the man without whom none of the stories in this book would be known, for he turned the Fonds Galles over to the archives with the consent of his *cousine* Thérèse Galles Laverlochère, Jean-Marie Galles's granddaughter, in 1907. The intricacies of relationships enumerated here exemplify the layers upon layers of kinship characterizing Vannes's nineteenth-century elite, the virtually total integration of the principal families of the city with one another.[27] To the Caradec galaxy (incomplete here) could be added a half-dozen others, all extracted largely from the marriage records.[28]

The city's "political class" comprised men of substance and standing, largely of bourgeois origin. They prided themselves on their moderation and pragmatism, though some remained monarchist, others more sympathetic to the revolutionary-Bonapartist tradition. But their politics did not impede their social intercourse, including its most important aspect, intermarriage. The "civic class," which overlapped considerably with the political, of men involved in boards and associations promoting civic betterment fit the same description. While both classes included people who might be described as radicals, "true believers" of the Ultra (then "legitimist") right and the republican left, these remained a distinct minority and in fact intermarried not at all with the sprawling moderate center. And throughout the nineteenth century, with the brief exceptions of the appointed democratic-republican mayor Dantu in 1848 and a flurry of local electees loyal to the comte de Chambord, the Bourbon pretender,

27. For further analysis, see Christopher H. Johnson, "Kinship, Civil Society, and Power in Nineteenth-Century Vannes," in *Kinship in Europe: Approaches to Long-Term Development (1300–1900)*, ed. David Warren Sabean, Simon Teuscher, and Jon Mathieu (New York, 2007), 258–83. The reconstruction of kinship ties among Vannes's elite is based on marriage and birth records (ADM, 2 E 260), Galles genealogies (ADM, 2 J 1), Papiers Lallement (ADM, 7 J), and the relevant genealogies in Bertrand Frélaut, *Les Bleus de Vannes, 1791–1795: Une élite urbaine pendant la Revolution* (Vannes, 1991). The genealogies were easily traced via Frélaut's marvelous index and painstaking research on Vannes's political history, which began with his exhaustive study of the membership of the city's Revolutionary Club. I cannot overemphasize my debt to him, although he did not discern the political integration of families though marriage and the consequent elite kin world of the nineteenth century, which my research has unearthed.

28. See Bibliographical Note 13.

in the 1870s, the moderate left or right held power. Both the July Monarchy and the Second Empire suited their sensibilities well, while the Third Republic saw a power shift in 1888 from Thiersian Orléanist turned republican Émile Burgault to comte de Paris (Orléanist) monarchist turned conservative Charles Riou, but the essentials of political–civic–social class dominance of the moderate middle hardly varied. And indeed, Burgault and Riou were distant cousins. But by that time so were most of the political and civic class of the city. This is why an understanding of what happened to elite kinship connections during the Restoration and July Monarchy is so critical, for they formed the base of Vannes's integrated power structure for generations to come. It was the openness of the Galles, Jollivet, and Le Ridant families as well as several other antirevolutionary dynasties to marriage and sociability with the leaders of the revolutionary era that made it possible.

Career and Guidance

And what of René Galles, age twenty-six in 1845? Although there had been a few bumps along the way, mainly caused by far too active a social life, complete with drinking and gambling to a point bordering on addiction after the monastic existence at the École, his training and first assignments at Metz ended successfully. He was promoted to lieutenant, and joined the Fifth Artillery stationed in Morocco, at Fez. This was the era of the heaviest fighting in the history of the North African conquest. Artillery, however, especially large weaponry, in which René specialized, put him less in harm's way than many of his colleagues in the infantry and the cavalry.

In her letters, Adèle speaks much less of his safety than of his orderly conduct and progress in the corps. She counsels him in the same stern tones she used when he was a boy. There is always the danger of a relapse that might scuttle his expected future. For example: "Do not be discouraged; you possess everything you need to advance, so have confidence in yourself; go forward without distraction, carry out your service zealously," and always respect "your senior officers."[29] Adèle goes on to warn him against falling back into the bad habits "of Metz," and while he should not avoid "le monde," gambling must be severely resisted no matter how much camaraderie he might have to forgo. Instead "stay within yourself, give yourself over entirely to knowing who you are." Adèle hopes that "enlightened Christianity" will reignite within him and goes into a long and theologically informed discussion of the relationship between beatitude and earthly happiness: God's presence in one's life and secular accomplishment go hand in hand. René was not yet able to believe in the manner his mother so fervently desired, but her plea for self-analysis leading to a search for God presents yet another sample of this woman's powers of insight and her ability to find the words to influence the lives of those she loved and upon whom the destiny, as she saw it, of her family depended.

She follows her treatise with a more mundane, but possibly more meaningful, paragraph about the joys of home and family. She urges him to come home during his leave to love and the joys of Arradon. She has just purchased Gramilha, a

29. Quotations are from Adèle to René, July 1845 and November 29, 1845, ADM, 2 J 80.

Figure 8. "Gramilha." Country house of Adéle Galles. Photograph by Christopher Johnson.

Figure 9. "Truhélin." Country house of the Jollivet family. Photograph by Christopher Johnson.

"long-coveted" country house, smaller but "with an even better view" than nearby Truhélin, along with some lovely heathland, "dit Cécile," and a contiguous pasture. Louis Le Ridant, René's cousin and confidant, has also recently bought some land in Arradon. Truhélin was flourishing, despite the loss of its master, as the widowed Julienne threw herself into rounds of entertaining family and friends and was urging all to build summer cottages in Arradon. Adèle was joining her brothers, already established, in a compound of vacation dwellings that would grow exponentially as the new generations prospered. Julienne's son Jules lists them all by name in his memoirs. There was "Saint Galles," which belonged to Jean-Marie Galles and his large brood (son Louis and five daughters, Marie, Adèle, Anna, Louise, and Édith, who were all Jules Jollivet's "inseparable companions of my childhood and youth"); "Langat," Zuma and Yves Jollivet's place; "Kerbilouet," the domain of Alfred and Marie Jollivet Lallemand and their growing family; "Le Lado," the sprawling house on the water of Toussaint Rallier, the school director, uncle by marriage to Marie-Anne Morand (her mother was a Danet) to several in the family, and their six children; "Sainte-Barbe," the cottage of Marius and Adelaïde Pavin Charrier and family; two places belonging to Charles Avrouin-Foulon, the chief fiscal officer of the department, already close to the family and the future father-in-law of Maria Jollivet, Yves and Zuma's sole surviving child; "Loquettes," a villa adjacent to Langat, her parents' wedding gift to Maria and her husband; and finally "Pen Boch," "the country house of the Collège St. François Xavier" of Vannes, ensuring that many more of the young people's friends and relations would be around.[30]

How could René pass up such a feast? Adèle reminds him of the charming hospitality of her sister-in-law ("Juliette" will lead them in reading Shakespeare) at Truélin as well as the intimate pleasures of their little household, with young Jules performing new antics and Cécile displaying her remarkable drawings and landscape paintings. Félix has just visited and "le bon M. Le Ridant" (as Adèle always calls Uncle Alexis) comes often; Gramilha simply bursts with happiness. Adèle also reports on Juliette's two sons: "René Emmanuel [now thirteen] is a charming chubby-cheeked boy, the best-looking of his branch, and Jules [eleven and the future general] impatiently waits for his appointment to have sugar almonds." Adèle remains delighted with "le cousin Charrier," who is prospering and currently rebuilding on the prestigious property of the Maison Dubodan in Vannes. He and Adelaïde are completely happy, and he is "truly a good person."

The case for René's *semestre* was made convincingly; he would indeed come home for his leave the following year. And without great efforts (as far as we know), he was duly promoted to first lieutenant in 1847 and transferred back to France, first in the War Ministry and then as an officer of the Poudrerie de Ripault near Tours.

Compared with Edmond Pradier, whom Adèle often brings up because his wife, Joséphine Marquer, is her mother's grandniece, her son had progressed splendidly. Adèle sadly reports that Edmond, who recently took command of a ship of five hundred men after its captain died at sea and had a long record of service in combat and

30. Jules Jollivet, "Memoires" [1899], ADM, 2 J 86, 5.

secret missions in the Indian Ocean, had just been passed over for promotion in favor of his younger brother César, whose record was far inferior. Though Adèle provides no details, César had made "petites attaques" to worm his way past his brother. Edmond and the Marquer family were "devastated." This betrayal of one brother by another was greeted with incomprehension. In a family world where sibling loyalty virtually defined existence, César's "intrigues" were unforgivable.[31] His father, for whom he was named, and who was Jean-Marie Galles's colleague on the Conseil de Préfecture, may have been stricken most deeply of all, for he died of a heart attack only a month later. The gravity of this situation may perhaps be judged by the wedding party of Eugène Pradier, the youngest son, when he married Angélique Michon the following July (1848). César served as first witness, but Edmond did not sign the certificate, nor did any of his in-laws. At thirty-seven years, César had become a chevalier of the Légion d'Honneur and was listed as a *lieutenant de vaisseau première classe*. Edmond later achieved higher rank, but the split was definitive.

Certainly such a thing could never happen in the Galles family. In the same letter, Adèle was aglow over the engagement of Félix to Aimée Taslé, daughter of Judge Julien Taslé and niece of the former mayor Amand. Their family was linked to the Boullés, currently led by Philippe, a general and future deputy, through Amand's marriage to Monique Boullé, Philippe's sister. Both families came from republican and Bonapartist roots but established deep connections with the Galles clan through marriage and civic activities. The Boullé papers would be integrated with those of the Galles.[32] On New Year's Day 1848, Félix presented his fiancée with "a pretty ring of fine stones of color that your poor father had given me in those happy days." In a strange twist, however, Aimée's "grandparents decided that this ring was a bit too flashy for the finger of a young girl" (she was eighteen), so it would stay in the jewel box until they married. But in the privacy of her room, she would put it on "and took great pleasure in it, a detail," Adèle adds coyly, "that our Lico [Félix's nickname] was delighted to pass along to us."[33] The wedding was planned for September.

Weathering Revolution, Again: Adèle, *Femme Politique*

As the world soon knew, the intervening months threatened to change everything. It is fascinating to view the Revolution of 1848 through the eyes of a matron in a conservative regional capital where her families and their friends and relations had ascended to local dominance while many of their sons and daughters were spread across the nation and its colonies, largely in roles that could well be undermined by its unfolding. As in 1789 and beyond, the watchword was caution, keeping family interests above the vicissitudes of politics and seeing what benefits might accrue. The events of 1830 had posed less of a challenge for them, for in fact they were (ever so quietly) among the revolutionaries, though its legacy was now clearly in question. But in Vannes, as ul-

31. Adèle to René, February 4, 1848, ADM, 2 J 88.
32. ADM, 2 J 118–32.
33. Adèle to René, February 4, 1848.

timately everywhere else, order was restored by the orderly—though only after some serious trials for several family members.

Adèle was fully aware of the prerevolutionary crisis, economic and political. In her long letter to René on February 4, 1848, she calls upon the French to "try as hard as we can to forget personal interests and think only of our France, which needs all its citizens to unite as a single *faisceau*. . . . We women can only offer prayers, but isn't that the most powerful force of all? God . . . will save us, and the voice of His thunderclap has said: unite, and none can resist." She strikes a theme here that remains during the revolution: the will of God and the will of the (responsible) people of France are identical. It turned out that despite her predilection for constitutional monarchy, she would have no objection to a republic in which reason (and men like those of her family and class) prevailed.

Her letter of March 20 to René assesses the revolutionary events in the Morbihan and their consequences for "her own," who are among "the conquered . . . and hearts are sad." But "one must accept what God sends, and if the new order of things is to bring about greater happiness in France, [let] every man bring to [it] as much courage and energy as he can. [I] pray that God helps the victors [and] brings them success by just means that will ensure liberty with order." Although there have been some "unfortunate incidents" in some smaller towns of the department, things are settling down. She praises the transitional efforts of Commissaire Ange Guépin, the famous physician and republican activist from Nantes, who will soon cede power to Frédéric Guérin, a local lawyer who has pledged to resign once the National Assembly is elected. Though mistrusting the "absolute sovereignty" of the *commissaires*, Adèle seems optimistic that the transition will be made peacefully and that "we will then move forward in accordance with the rule of law." She believes, generously, that "God will give to this French assembly, whose potential for good is immense, but whose shortcomings will be serious, the patriotism and wisdom we desire." Mayor Dr. Dantu and his group of republican stalwarts are now in power in Vannes (installed by Guépin), but Adèle's circle of moderates was already talking about her nephew François Jollivet-Castellot as his replacement. Her assessment of François is interesting, perhaps reflecting a certain distance between the inner core of the Galles-Jollivet clan and the Lorient-based Castellots, who took over François's tutelage. "His supporters make him out to be a man of great intelligence [whose] knowledge of men and things has come easily." Charitably she says, "He is at least a good boy [*un bon enfant*], who has wronged no one and has far too valuable interests to want disorder." François would indeed be the choice of the post–June Days reaction; not coincidentally, the Morbihan would be the only department in France to give Eugène Cavaignac a plurality in the presidential election.[34] Finally, Adèle promises to send her son "the names [of candidates] for whom our friends are voting" in the election for the assembly, but fears the worst: "Given all that you know about *nos campagnes*, legitimist opinion might triumph. We shall see."

Adèle Galles shows herself to be well informed and sure of her political perspective. Her entire family had been solidly entrenched in the political and social world of

34. Frederic de Luna, *The French Republic under Cavaignac, 1848* (Princeton, 1969).

what here could be called "bourgeois monarchism." Relatives and close friends dominated city politics and were distributed across dozens of appointive positions. Many were active in the civil society of the department, especially through the Société polymathique du Morbihan and various commissions dealing with urban improvement and agricultural reform. They were especially attuned to the problem of poverty and its attendant social consequences. Captain René Jollivet pioneered in this regard with his presentation in 1840 before the Société titled "Projet d'association pour l'extinction de la mendicité dans l'arrondissement de Vannes, par la mise en valeur des landes," which served as an inspiration for a variety of efforts culminating in a massive report by Frédéric Guérin in 1847. Guérin, mentioned positively by Adèle in this letter as a man of honor, was editor of one of Vannes's earliest newspapers, the moderate republican *Vigée du Morbihan*, which was critical of Mayor Taslé, whom it accused of dragging his feet in the fight against poverty and supported the appointment of his replacement, young Émile Burgault, in 1846, as the entire Orléanist regime tried to liberalize. Taslé stayed on as first deputy mayor, and with strong support from the prefect and his council, led by Galles and Pradier, all worked together to attack the problem, which became especially severe as the dearth of 1847 spread misery. It seems likely that Adèle's hopes for the republic grew out of the kind of cooperation between center-left and center-right that this campaign represented. Sadly, the revolution itself, by creating a severe fiscal crisis, actually undermined the effort, which only revived later in the Second Republic.

The revolution also took its toll on Adèle's kinsmen. Most serious was the fate of Jean-Marie Galles. From the same letter of March 20, 1848: "He is no longer the printer for the prefecture or a council member." Galles had initially been kept on in both capacities, but he refused the demand by the first *commissaire*, Manonry, that he defend in writing his long council service for Prefect Lorois and publish a brochure prepared by the new government denouncing the previous administration, saying that "he would never disown his friends to serve himself." Manonry thought his "fastidiousness exaggerated" but fired him anyway. This left the family in some distress.

> In a house where there had been moderately comfortable circumstances, honestly and honorably acquired, financial difficulty and privation have arrived; but no one complains. They had to let a servant, the children's art teacher, and several workers go, which has been the most painful. But Galles remains a good citizen, proclaiming his desire for the happiness of his country, but at the same time maintaining his independence. Let me tell you, my son, his conduct is worthier than that of many others who benefited deeply from the friendship and regard of M. Lorois, but who now pass him on the street without tipping their hats.

Adèle then blames the revolution on the reign of self-assertion, competition, and *parti pris* that came to characterize the fallen regime and threatens the new.[35] "Les égoïstes

35. See my discussion of this issue in chapter 8, referencing the work of Kathleen Kete.

intéressés," she writes, "these are the ones who brought the former government down, these are the ones who claim to support but will work to undermine the success of the republic, these are the ones who will ever endanger the safety of our country."

If she disdained the two-faced *républicains de lendemain*, she feared the machinations of the radicals, who apparently provoked workers to attack the office of Adèle's brother-in-law Charrier, Vannes's chief surveyor. She did not blame the workers, whom she described as "brave gens" who had had a "bit too much wine." Someone had accused him of malfeasance, but others, including Dantu, the mayor-designate and Charrier's colleague in the Société polymathique, had dismissed the charges as ridiculous. Still, she feared for his job. "Ô mon enfant," she cried, "if the republic amounts to that, then happy are those so dear to us [who have passed on] and who live where only justice, truth, and happiness reign." As for their family in Rennes, Félix, engaged to Aimée Taslé ("What a time to be in love!" says Adèle), has kept his job in the *procureur-général*'s office, since the conservative but highly competent François Dubodan, "at the entreaty of all the judiciary of all political opinions," had been retained in his post; she was anxious for her brother Stanislas, the superior judge in the criminal court, but this "good and honest man" possessed a great deal of political capital because of his pursuit of the neo-Chouan rebels when he was deputy *procureur* after the Revolution of 1830. Adèle also feared that the "lack of bread" might rekindle rural discontent in Auray. "People will suffer," but she hoped they would "do so nobly, *sans bassesse jamais*."

Written a month into the revolution, this letter captures all the uncertainties as well as the hopes running through the minds of moderate constitutional monarchists who had found their political home in the "moment Guizot" which now seemed to be fading. Knowing full well that behind the smiles of many fellow Orléanists turned "republican" there resided plots for revenge that well might include alliances with legitimism and "bretonisme" and the revival of noble dominance, they hewed to a path open to republican government as long as it was orderly (and paternalistic toward the working class) and respected the talents of "one's friends." As we will examine in the following chapter, the Galles' sociopolitical world was cemented by kinship and dedication to good works in civil society. But its role would be on their terms—and they would prevail, maintaining locally that bourgeois utopia that Guizot so fervently aspired to for most of the century, much longer than Pierre Rosanvallon has argued. What is remarkable here is to listen to the voice of a woman (now fifty-two and a grandmother) assess the political scene in a time of trial for her milieu in such a trenchant and sophisticated manner. For all her invocation of God's will, she knew very well that all her kin world and their fellow bourgeois were at a moment of truth when their forces and moral fortitude needed to be mobilized. We should not be surprised: Adèle Jollivet Galles came from a long line of such women.

Adèle's mood had improved a week later (March 28, 1848), for it seemed as if candidates for the National Assembly whom she could live with commanded broad support. She writes to René mainly to inform him about them, while ruminating further about the political situation. She was concerned not to have heard from him (he was on the turbulent eastern border), but understood how "tired in body and spirit" he must be. She had carefully assessed the candidates, now frankly offering her opinion

of their merits. Her commitment to good citizenship is again striking, as she reminds René of his sacred duty to vote for men who, in the assembly, will vote "for a virtuous and well-ordered republic where each can live as a free citizen." She then sends him the names of those who, in her opinion, will best serve the nation and also have a good chance of winning. Surprisingly, it includes five men from the list of the *comité radical*, including the nationally known figures Charles Beslay and Ange Guépin. From the *comité des modérés* she liked Procureur François Dubodan, ex-mayor Émile Burgault, ex-prefect Lorois, and Philippe Boullé, the former *sous-préfet* married to Amand Taslé's sister Monique. The *comité de l'ancienne aristocratie* also carried one name, Authur de Perrien, a man "forever moderate," who found her favor. In the neighboring district, where René also might vote, she endorsed Bachelot de Piriac, a longtime republican whom some, she concedes, have said bad things about but others regard quite favorably, a "vital mind who will not back away from controversy." The powerful aristocrat and former legitimist deputy La Roche Jacquelin was also a candidate, but "I cannot say that I trust him." Finally, she says, if he cannot decide, "*mets un nom en l'air*: Jollivet-Castellot, whom I believe has scarcely a chance." She hoped that he would discuss all this with other Vannetais of his regiment and use his influence, especially on behalf of Dubodan, who obviously meant a great deal to their family. She thought that Beslay, Dubodan, and La Roche Jacquelin would likely be elected.

Adèle Galles thus shows herself to be opposed to the legitimist candidates of the "old aristocracy" except for de Perrein, who had been a deputy during the July Monarchy, accepted the republic, and was in fact a competent public servant. Her skepticism toward La Roche Jacquelin was well founded, as he soon showed his Carlist colors on the national stage. She apparently did not have a problem with any of the candidates of the "radical" or "moderate" electoral committees. She was also clearly au courant with the best political analysis, since the three "most certain" winners were in fact elected.

Adèle concluded with a discussion of her second son's situation in the midst of all this political turmoil: "I have recent news about Félix—nothing new at the appellate court of Rennes; M. Dubodan has been maintained to the satisfaction of all parties. Félix does not know what party he will align himself with; his destiny is tied to that of the T[aslé] family, as you know. If only he had a larger fortune, I would say to him: stay in Rennes and make for yourself a [law] practice that in time will not fail to reward a worthy and talented man. Nothing is higher than the position of an independent citizen." This is an intriguing commentary on the dilemma of the nineteenth-century bourgeoisie and rather sums up a central theme of this book. The ideal is to be the Guizotian "independent citizen," a man with appropriate start-up capital who can then make his own way toward that ideal by virtue of moral character and talent alone. Only such a person should be entrusted with the bedrock constitutional power of the vote because he would be beyond the extraneous influences of family and "interest." But the way is blocked for one whose "fortune" is insufficient for him to go it alone—how Adèle must have loathed her aunt at moments like this for her "betrayal" of her children—and he must therefore rely on kinship connections to further his career. In this case, Aimée Taslé's considerable dowry and her father's and uncle's considerable political and social power were absolutely necessary for Félix's advancement, so much so that he would dance to whatever political tune was necessary to

please the Taslé family. He would indeed make a fine career, but within the government as a judicial official. No doubt his integrity and skills contributed significantly to it, but relatives with the proper contacts did as well. Adèle, of course, wished that family were just "about love" and that each of them could simply live the bourgeois ideal uncomplicated by roadblocks, but as we have seen again and again throughout this story, "la tendresse, l'honnêteté et le talent" were never enough, that becoming bourgeois was in many ways a matter of family and kinship, but also involved highly "interested," concerted, and well-calculated decision-making practices that no one then would ever define as a "strategy," even though as their historian, one can now observe how the pieces fit together.

Adèle drew the line at hypocrisy, however; if one made *démarches* on behalf of a family, one did so openly. But those who shamelessly let interest overrule their essential values reaped nothing but her scorn: immediately after her enshrinement of the "independent citizen" she says, "Colonel Crosi [the current commandant at Belle-Île] has just changed clothes; he's now a *républicain de lendemain* more ardent than those *de la veille*." Most certainly she was thinking of noble J.-M. Galles.

Finally, Madame Jollivet Galles, watching the European scene with care, asks her son:

> Viewing things from the frontier, do you believe war possible given the current state of Europe? It's said that Prussia is now a republic. Let us hope it will be a constitutional one. It will be very difficult for autocratic Russia to stay at home. If it moves, there will be war, but I do not fear for France, for we will win. But I tremble for my dear son. . . . Here in Brittany we have totally useless disturbances. It's a dream, but a dangerous one, this restoration of the elder branch; there are some people so obstinate that nothing will open their eyes. Let us hope that the cause of liberty is sustained, for it is ours.

Thus did the matriarch of the family survey the scene, amidst possibly the most turbulent moment Europe had ever seen, with a steady hand and a clear moral and political perspective. These two remarkable letters, among the longest in the entire collection, were worthy of fellow *juste-milieu* female writers such as Hortense Allard or Désirée Gay de Girardin. But she was a mere provincial—and as such more representative of her class and sex than these bright lights of the capital.

As usual, Adèle closed her letter of the twenty-eighth with loving notes from "ta soeur et ton petit Jules" and his permanent "bedmate," Salléro, a doll, a gift from René. "Our *petites soirées* have turned into veritable club meetings, to the delight of our little members. We'd like to talk about things other than politics, but we come back to it in spite of ourselves." This just about sums up the intensity of the political fever of 1848.

As the events of that year unfolded like a Greek tragedy (in some respects the representatives from the Vannes arrondissement—a democrat, an Orléanist, and an aristocrat speaking for a deeply conservative peasantry—formed a microcosm of the National Assembly) and sent the nation reeling in acrimony and hopeless disunity, Adèle simply threw up her hands. René was called to Paris to suppress the uprising during those horrible days of June. He wrote her two letters about it all, but we have

only her response.[36] It is not clear how deeply involved he was, but she thanks him for writing right away to allay her fears:

> I hope that no more blood will be spilled in Paris, that the tranquillity of which you speak will be maintained. . . . There is no doubt that in these grave circumstances one must put aside personal interest; one must be French above all and do one's small part for the preservation of our dear country: this will always be your cause, my children; and your mother will ask God [*Dieu*] each day that she [*elle*] gives to those who govern us today the strength, the wisdom, the success—with however many hands may be necessary—that she [*elle*] will finally bring happiness to France. Everything else vanishes before a wish so precious [*cher*].

As usual, her first thought is order, whatever the causes of upheaval, and the prayer for divine guidance to the leadership, whatever it might be, is typical, although the choice of labeling God female is not.[37] The semi-dictatorial government of Cavaignac certainly fulfilled her desires and established a popularity in the Morbihan that lasted through the presidential elections in December.

And as time went on, "notre Adèle" could concentrate on other things. It was now late summer, and the families were in Arradon. Writing René on August 13, she hoped that he had received the two letters from Cécile that announced "the happiness of our Benjamin.[38] His grand affair is finally agreed upon." Because of the uncertainty of the times and of Félix's future, there had been considerable doubt about whether his marriage to Aimée Taslé would actually come about. Adèle had been at the center of the discussions, which ended positively "thanks to the kindness of M. Taslé," Aimée's father. "Finally I can breathe!" The crucial issue had been the amount of the marriage portion that Félix would bring to the union. Adèle possessed virtually no liquid capital and neither did her sons. But Jean-Marie Galles, who was printing again for the government, quietly advanced her 2,600 francs. The wedding was postponed until after that of her niece Maria (Yves and Zuma's daughter) to Charles Avrouin, scheduled for September 10.[39] The importance of the Galles-Taslé marriage cannot be overestimated: Félix's "destiny" was assured by it. Adèle's preoccupation with money—both for herself and for Félix—is evident once more, and it appears that the sizable wedding settlement coming from the Taslés would solve both their problems. Aimée Taslé wrote Adèle a lovely letter after the agreement and seemed everything that she might hope for, especially in embracing the prospect of becoming René's "soeur," joining their sibling archipelago.

36. Undated, though sometime in early July 1848, ADM, 2 J 80 (1).

37. Although one perhaps should not read too much into this (for she often employed "la Providence" as a term for God), the fact remains than she repeats "elle" as a reference to "Dieu" in this paragraph. As far as I know, this is her only reference to God as female. Perhaps the "gravity of circumstances" of post-June France and the need for evenhanded, rational guidance motivated her.

38. A biblical reference: Benjamin is the youngest son of Jacob.

39. État civil, mariages, Vannes, September 10, 1848, ADM.

This marriage and that of Maria are among the few in our families of this generation that are not in some way consanguineous. Maria's groom was the son of the chief tax official of the department. The Avrouins were Parisians of considerable wealth. This was an excellent marriage for both, expanding national connections while further integrating prominent outsiders into Vannes society.[40] The Galles-Taslé union brought together two of the most important families of the city—former mayor Taslé's delight that his niece will marry a nephew of "le bon Galles" and "enter a family that I have respected since my youth" recorded in this letter testifies to their local standing—but at the same time extended their involvement in the high society of Rennes, where the couple married and would live for a while, complementing Judge Taslé and Stanislas Jollivet. The latter, a witness at both weddings, not only weathered the revolutionary shuffle of personnel but also was promoted to *avocat-général* of the Cour d'Appel of Rennes.

In this same letter, there was a hint that René might possibly have been a candidate for marriage to Aimée's sister. But Adèle is frank in saying that he might not have been acceptable. He is "as good as his brother" *except* for his views on religion. If he wants to find a wife like Aimée—and here Adèle repeats every cliché of the day regarding wifely qualities—he needs to abandon the incredible "vanity" of religious skepticism that flaws his personality. So there! Adèle then turns to current events.

Along with registering the widespread (and under-studied) fear that the international revolutionary explosion of 1848 would lead to war, as had that of 1789,[41] Adèle showed a clear understanding of the dynamics of the revolution in her town. Abel Dantu, retained as mayor, was a physician and public health official whose circle included most of the small number of radical republicans in Vannes; many were related by kinship, but none of them kin to the intricately entwined bourgeois elite that ran the city under the July Monarchy. His second deputy, Fleuri, was this group's intellectual leader, and, in Adèle's opinion, not to be trusted—not because of his politics, but on account of his poverty, which could make him "venal." As for Dantu, though she thought him "a good man," she wondered about his "competence." The family's wunderkind, twenty-nine-year-old François Jollivet-Castelot, had convinced the left of his sympathy and positioned himself, as first deputy mayor, to take over as mayor when the reaction fully arrived in November 1848.

Adèle concludes her long letter of August 13 by returning to news of the family. She is thrilled that sister-*cousine* Aimée, who lost her husband, André Savantier, the previous year, is returning to "her own" in Vannes. She has rented a house not far from "la bonne Virginie" Le Ridant (also recently a widow) in the rue des Chanoines. Adèle is at Gramilha enjoying the visit of Uncle Galles and his family. Cécile and young Jules are there too, and they all see the relatives at nearby Truhélin every day. All the young people (led by the Galles boys and the sons of Juliette and the late René Jollivet) make the atmosphere constantly festive. Everyone sends their love to René and hopes the crisis keeping him *en garde* near Paris will soon pass.

40. Adèle to René Galles, January 10, February 4, March 20, March 28, and August 13, 1848, ADM, 2 J 80 (1).

41. Little work has been done on the issue since Lawrence Jennings, *France and Europe in 1848: A Study in French Foreign Affairs in Time of Crisis* (Oxford, 1973).

Pass it did as France overwhelmingly elected a new Bonaparte in December and the Morbihan returned to bourgeois normalcy. Jollivet-Castelot saw to it that the few remnants of a republican presence disappeared, though Dr. Dantu was retained as *officier de santé*. The "agony of the Republic" that John Merriman documented elsewhere amounted to little more than closing down a couple of tiny newspapers and reshuffling some appointments. What a far cry from the bloodbaths that marked the history, for instance, of the Hérault from 1849 to 1851.[42] The calm that Adèle Jollivet Galles and her kin so ardently desired is fully reflected in her letters to René, who himself moved out of harm's way to become the commanding officer of an ordnance supply facility at the Forges de Paimpont near Plélan just across the Morbihan–Ille-et-Villaine border, and he maintained an apartment in Rennes. What joy to have him so close!

Fulfillment: René Wed

Adèle's letter of November 8, 1849, reports the doings of several family members, most of whom are away; she forwards René's letters to them. One is to "la chère Marie," who is with "tes tantes" at Langat; Cécile and Jules will take it along with them when they leave for Arridon that afternoon. The aunts in question are Zuma Jollivet, Aimée Savantier, and Louise Le Montagner, Marie's mother. Marie's dearness had recently been enhanced by René's interest in her as a prospective wife. A cousin ten years his junior whom he had known "all her life" as the families exchanged visits, Marie, Adèle's goddaughter, also came from wealth. Her father, a physician and *propertaire*, had survived accusations of tax evasion at the beginning of the revolution, but timely intervention by liberal family members with Commissaire Guérin saved him—and his considerable fortune. Adèle had told only their inner circle. She assured Renè that his uncle Galles, "well above money, values the good and lovable qualities of your cousin." Adèle had also shared "your secret" with Aunt Juliette, who will serve as his intimate adviser on matters of love when they see each other in Rennes. She possesses "such a good heart, a great delicacy of feeling, and above all a discretion and soundness in matters of commerce." René can speak with her in "complete confidence." Adèle also confessed that the dowry she might bring would be welcome. Galles agreed. The union, in short, would combine the best features of close marriage, and, typically, a trusted aunt would serve as the go-between. Juliette was also privy to another secret: that René was studying for the entrance examination that would qualify him for a position in the Intendancy, the branch of the military that oversaw its entire organization and administration. This suited his abilities and was quite prestigious. His position at Paimpont was a practical first step for admission.

42. John Merriman, *The Agony of the Republic: The Repression of the Left in Revolutionary France, 1848–1851* (New Haven, 1978); Ted W. Margadant, *French Peasants in Revolt: The Insurrection of 1851* (Princeton, 1979); Christopher H. Johnson, *The Life and Death of Industrial Languedoc, 1700–1920: The Politics of Deindustrialization* (Oxford, 1995), 118–48. The Revolution of 1848–1851 in Vannes and the Morbihan is virtually unstudied, largely, it would seem, because of paltry documentation. I have gleaned information from archival sources and surviving newspapers, but Adèle Galles's letters are in fact more revealing of the mood of the era.

Félix and his new bride lost no time in producing a child after their exemplary marriage the previous year. Their little "jewel," Marie, was already teething; Félix and Aimée had recently visited, and Adèle remained aglow with the memories of the warmth and smiles and little "que-ques" of her first granddaughter. Félix was being transferred to nearby Redon, as *procureur de la République* there, the first step in a career that would lead to a procurer-generalship and beyond during the Second Empire.

No doubt his younger brother's happy union had motivated René to think about his own. But there remained the question of his beliefs. He had carried the enlightened intellectual tradition from which he sprang (dating back to his great-grandfather a century before) to its logical conclusion: the rejection of Christianity's God and its rituals. As we have seen, his mother was mortified, fearing not only for his soul but also for his prospects of ever marrying within his family's social orbit—he, its most shining star. But in this same letter of November 8, 1849, we come to realize that René has had an epiphany. And joy floods the Galles–Jollivet–Le Ridant world. It is not entirely clear when and how it came about, but no doubt the experience of combat with fellow citizens, the myth of radical republican godlessness, and the general association of order with Catholic restoration promoted by Louis-Napoléon contributed.[43] But his mother's stinging rebuke after his brother's marriage likely had greater resonance.

René had written her of his return to faith, and this letter is her first after a rather long delay. "There is nothing that I have asked of God more than your return to Him because I know that outside of this Center, we will find only sorrows, storms of the heart, bad passions, in a word, unhappiness." She is certain that he finally understands that love and marriage cannot exist without God's place in the couple's hearts.

> You feel that all the happiness that you want to give to your dear cousin must be your highest cause; what you can do on your own does not reassure you sufficiently; you wish that God will bless her, that He will bless you with her, and you feel the need to pray for it; you place in Him the care of your joint destinies; He will preserve your love and help you remain devoted to each other in the worst moments as in those of joy. . . . There is no doubt in my mind that your desire to return to faith was inspired in you by God Himself; in your state of melancholy and grief, He absolved you; be now resolved to render grace to Him with the joy that He bestows upon you; and love Marie for Him and by Him.

Whether or not Adèle was speaking her son's actual words in this lyrical hymn to the necessary blending of divine and human love, there is little doubt that he had shared such thoughts with her. Unquestionably, given his penchant for philosophical reflection, other factors were at play as well. Finally, she underscored his willingness to go to confession and thus reemerge in a state worthy of beatitude.

43. In reality, most social republican leaders saw their vision as the fulfillment of Christ's message; see Edward Berenson, *Populist Religion and Left-Wing Politics in France, 1830–1852* (Princeton, 1984); Christopher H. Johnson, *Utopian Communism in France: Cabet and the Icarians, 1839–1851* (Ithaca, NY, 1974), 206–59. Just that summer, French troops had overthrown Mazzini's Roman Republic and restored the reactionary Pius IX.

This momentous turn of events sent the family into a new round of wedding preparations with Adèle at the center of things. Four of her letters from 1850 capture the drama of her crowning moment as she sent her sons (the chosen one whole again) into the world, while revealing deep anxiety that her bourgeois paradise might yet be shattered by the political dangers still afoot in a republic based in manhood suffrage.

Within the family, it seemed things had never been better. Only grandson Jules Le Ridant, now nine, caused concern. A very bright boy, articulate and an ardent reader (he loved Guizot's histories), he was given to fits of irrational misbehavior, sometimes violent, that drove Cécile and Adèle to distraction. Adèle attributes it to his "forte nature" (similar to her own), but his uncle Félix had had neurological problems at about the same age. By the end of the year, things had improved, and Adèle hoped that God might grant Cècile "calmer moments." She now could go out for the evening (though we hear nothing of her courting; like her mother and aunts, she was destined for lifelong widowhood), while Adèle proudly got Jules to bed without a peep (letter of October 31, 1850). But otherwise, Adèle reported only positive notes about all the relatives.

Her brothers were thriving. Judge Stanislas Jollivet, an architect of moderate restoration in Rennes, had recently been joined there part-time by René Galles as military adviser to the prefect. Jean-Marie Galles's family kept growing, and he had thrown himself fully into the expansion of his beloved geological museum and into doing research papers for the learned society he had founded. All the sisters-in-law and first *cousines* (an overlapping category and all widows) were well and traveled among the various family outposts across Brittany. The great flock of younger sisters and nephews and nieces old enough to do so were solidly entrenched or establishing themselves. Her nephew Augustin had returned to Vannes from Réunion to live on his assets and entertain regularly. Sister Marie-Elizabeth's husband, Alfred Lallemand, now forty, was the *juge de paix* for Vannes Est and would soon launch his second life as a historian. Tragically, before the year was out, Marie-Elizabeth would die in childbirth (yet another), leaving six young children; Adèle's sister Jenny, who remained unmarried and lived with the Lallemands, continued to look after the household, though she and Alfred would not, of course, marry.[44] Fanny, Adèle's youngest sister, was soon to wed a career civil servant in Rennes, thanks to the good offices of Stanislas and Juliette (who seemed to be working overtime as the yenta of the hour). Adelaïde Pavin's Marius Charrier had just saved the day with a new design for the city's water system. Augustin and Louise Le Montagner's son Auguste had followed many of their uncles

44. The one taboo that remained very much in force was the prohibition against marrying one's dead wife's sister. I have found only one such marriage (in early 1848), in which a *traiteur* who had taken over his father-in-law's business (his own parents were innkeepers) remarried with his wife's younger sister. He had to obtain a dispensation from the government in order to proceed. See the fine overview of the issue in English law in Adam Kuper, *Incest and Influence: The Private Life of Bourgeois England* (Cambridge, MA, 2009), 52–82; and for greater depth, Mary Jean Corbett, "Husband, Wife, and Sister: Making and Remaking the Early Victorian Family," in *Sibling Relations and the Transformation of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David W. Sabean (New York, 2011), 268–88. The restriction was removed during the Third Republic, but its history remains unexplored for France (to my knowledge).

into the military, and Jean-Marie's son Louis was finishing his university work. He already had his eye on Aimée Taslé's cousin, whom he would marry in 1856, relinking the family to that politically powerful clan. Adèle's nephew François Jollivet-Castellot, of course, was powerful in his own right, the current mayor of Vannes. Always on the lookout for young people in her vast cousinage who might make their mark, Adèle especially liked Henry Pavin: "He is a remarkably handsome young man and while still a bit clumsy in light conversation, he is quite accomplished and has well-reasoned ideas about many things." All the new generation had to make the rounds among the uncles and aunts for their approval. It was one of the many rituals of becoming bourgeois. Henry passed muster. Sadly, the young man was cut down before he had hardly begun, dying in combat in Crimea shortly thereafter.

Naturally, these letters mainly focused on René and Marie Le Montagner.

For her reborn but still conflicted son, Adèle went to her knees to convince him of her love and support. In her February 28, 1850, letter, she tries to assuage his anxieties about the new turns in his life which he had apparently expressed in terms of resentment toward her: "Please believe in our tenderness, and that of Marie, whose happiness will be your work. I kissed you and extended my hand to you in my last letter. Are you refusing to offer your cheek and your hand to me? Oh, my child, sometimes I have sorrow [*peine*] greater that I can bear. As a result I become harsh toward you; but God knows that I reproach myself for it, that I love you with all the tenderness of my heart; and that if I didn't get so anxious about your future, I would rarely suffer anxiety myself." We do not have her previous letter, in which she probably sought to clear the air with regard to disagreements about his religious values and practices that likely arose during his visit home around the holidays. Did he refuse to go to confession? Were there words about the kind of wedding mass they would have? In any case, he clearly did not respond in a loving manner, and Adèle seems in a panic about his feelings toward her. Was her grand project coming unraveled?

But her soul-searching made a difference, for her letter of March 22 has a completely different tone, bursting with news of friends and family, pleasure at her approaching Easter trip to Redon ("God willing") along with hopes that he might be there as well, and bright words for him. He was bored with studying for the intendancy and hopes he's ready for it. Surprisingly, she says she likes his attitude and hopes he succeeds, but if that doesn't happen, not to worry about it. She asks him if he has been distracted by "the precarious state of everything in France" (this was the period of the last gasp of the left), but quickly goes on to urge "patience, courage, and dedication to her whom you love." René and Marie are indeed "in love." The same comfort that Aimée Galles spoke of long ago in assessing why cousin marriage is even better than love matches pervades Adèle's comments about the two of them.

There was another factor perhaps making the prospect look even more appealing to Marie. Adèle, who has been communicating with Marie by letter, reiterates René's good fortune but also his "obligation" to love Marie deeply: "Think about how much you are loved; for hers is a gentle soul, patient, devoted, praying for you; who expects, confidently, that the bad days have passed; then she will come to you, she will give you her arms." Whose "mauvais jours"? His, certainly, but also Marie's. All has not been well in the Montagner household for a long time. "You know her sad

life, the lack of joy in her home; whatever joy she has had and will have is in you."[45] Unfortunately, we have little idea what was going on in the Montagner home. The father was and remained a successful and well-off physician with considerable landed assets, there were no major family tragedies that we know of, and, except for René's mention of the Montagners in his memoirs as his future in-laws, they are largely off the Galles–Jollivet–Le Ridant radar. Adèle speaks little of her sister Louise after the latter's marriage, though we know they corresponded a good deal. When they moved to Auray from Hennebont, there must have been more direct contact, and it is certain that René had seen Marie often, including those summers at Truhélin. We have no sense of Dr. Le Montagner's personality but do know that he was politically active and a member of the Conseil général, ranking him among the most prominent figures in the department. Adèle mentions him directly only once in the 1850 correspondence, when he comes to Vannes to attend the trial of some republicans (more later) and carries home a letter to Marie.

But in her letter of July 17, we find some evidence of malaise within the family. She and Louise are trying to arrange a family "gathering chez Montagner" in September prior to the wedding. Jenny, however, does not want to go because she would have to spend time "under the command of Louise." This implies tension between them, certainly, but also a rigidity on Louise's part that could cause serious pain to one's children. Adele goes on to say that neither Marie's sister Anna, who is eighteen, nor brother Auguste, who is now with his battalion in Angers, seems to favor such a gathering. Louise has just written to Adèle that "Anna is still silent and sad." And in a letter to Jenny, "Louise said: 'I have news from Auguste, but what he told me was so irrational and caused me such pain that I will not repeat it to anyone.' In a word [says Adèle], my son, we must pity his perverted judgment that vanity and jealousy led astray and have compassion for him, avoid reproaches, and show him, be that as it may, kindness." Whatever Auguste said, it was a vehement attack on René, but the response of the family was to feel sorry for a troubled youth. Adèle goes on to say that she feels blessed, having three children "so united, so loving." She hopes for the best at the wedding. Thus something filled this household with uncharacteristic venom. For Marie, her marriage to her beloved cousin would also provide an escape route.

If personal tensions clouded the *fiançailles* of René and Marie, the political atmosphere added to the uneasiness. For Adèle, of course, it began with concern that her son might once again be called upon to repress his countrymen, but she also reflects the generalized fear among conservatives that this Bonapartist republic might not be able to contain "communism" despite the repression that occurred after the radical republican attempted coup of May 1849. It was true that there had been a revival of the left, using virtually the only avenue open to it (since almost all its clubs and newspapers had been suppressed): the electoral process based on manhood suffrage. Although the anxiety on the right was certainly exaggerated, it was quite real. Adèle, always in tune with political currents, offers clear testimony of it. In February 1850, Bosquet of Auray had visited to announce that "socialism has just invaded our coun-

45. Adèle to René, July 17, 1850, ADM, 2 J 80.

tryside and all is lost. God help us!" Those agitating in the Morbihan were soon arrested and put on trial. Adèle assessed the situation on March 22. Although she was impressed by the reasoned defense of the young republicans by Michel de Bourges, which won an aquittal, she thought is was "sad for our country that this affair had been brought to trial at all. I did not recognize our Vannes; it was a triumphal entry and exit. . . . Banquets at the prison, handshaking all along the street, the crowd making a parade route for them." She wondered if "government is possible in France." She "pitied" these young men, led astray "by those perverse doctrines that make them lose their head." And all the popular "acclamation is for those who rose up against the law, and silence or murmuring for those who out of duty want to see it respected. . . . All sense of justice is lost." Although she could not help "seeing things darkly" with the "future impenetrable," she hopes "for a man who might come to grips with our precarious situation, but God does not send him. As we wait, let us support the president; this is the government; which includes, or so it is said, the Chamber."

Adèle provides a clear picture of the Great Fear that gripped the right at this time. The March elections, which she appraises prudently, were followed by worse news in April, including the election of the "communist" Eugène Sue from Paris. This worked to the advantage of the authoritarians, who rammed through the law of March 31, 1850, which essentially eliminated the urban working classes from the electorate. Times remained tense nonetheless, and the way had been opened for the prince-president to become the man (if not sent by God) who approximated Adèle's wish. And Vannes was cured. The city and the Morbihan do not even appear in the index of Ted Margadant's great book on the resistance to the coup d'état of December 1851.[46]

Adèle's last letter to René was written on October 31, 1850. It is quite brief but carries the wonderful news that "Félix is appointed [*procureur*] at Vannes. . . . What joy to see his dear children here; but how I long to see my René and his Marie happy as well; that will come, my good friends, and your mother's heart will have new thanks to render to God." René and Marie were together at her home in Auray, and from the tone of Adèle's greeting to her parents and to Anna, all seems amicable, but the wedding appears to have been delayed and the date not specifically set. She concludes with greetings from Jenny and Fanny, who are lunching with her and Cécile, and closes as she might have in 1828: "How is your cold? *Ta tendre mère*, Adèle."

Official documents tell us that René and Marie (complete with a double dispensation from the church, since they were also god-siblings) were indeed married on December 26, 1850, with all the usual host of relatives and friends on hand and the mayor of Auray officiating. René's *apport* was modest, but Montagner came through with a whopping dowry of 35,000 francs. Their fortune was now appropriate to the station that René's family, above all Adèle, had worked so assiduously for. The long ascent into the national bourgeoisie now depended only on the talents of this new generation.

But their inner world, the subject of this book, fell silent. No more letters were saved. We do not know what illness overtook Adèle, but since she wrote nothing, or

46. Margadant, *French Peasants in Revolt*. On the entire process, see Merriman, *The Agony of the Republic*.

so it appears, in 1851, it may well have been something debilitating, like a stroke. There was no warning of problems in the correspondence, save the occasional "God willing" when she mentions a future date. Young Louis Galles, Jean-Marie's son, loved his large family and, like his father's father and his cousin René, loved literature and the arts. He wrote a poem for the approaching wedding of his youngest aunt, Fanny, in the summer of 1850, but let it be known that he had in mind the fabled couple about whom he had heard so much, his aunt Adèle and his uncle Eugène:

Vous allez être unis
Avec un jeune époux;
Ce jour digne d'envie
Est un beau jour pour vous.
O heureuse journée!
Que vos noeuds sont charmants!
Mais après l'hyménée,
Soyez toujours amants.
Vous êtes l'un à l'autre
Dignes de vos charmes;
Son bonheur et le vôtre
C'est de vous bien aimer;
De deux époux fidèles
Meritez le renom,
Et prenez pour modèles
Baucis et Philémon.[47]

Our Baucis died on January 26, 1852. So does it appear on the official record of the État civil of Vannes:

L'an mil huit cent cinquante deux, le vingt six janvier, à midi, par devant nous, Paul Marie Thomas Pellé de Quéral, adjoint au Maire de Vannes et officier de l'état civil, sont comparu Messieurs Alfred Lallemand, agé de quarante-deux ans, Juge de Paix du Canton de Vannes (Est) et Jean-Marie Galles, agé de cinquante-neuf ans, Imprimeur, ancien Conseiller de la Préfecture, tous les deux domiciliés et demeurant à Vannes, lesquels nous sont déclaré que la Dame Adelaïde Marie Cécile Jollivet, agé de cinquante-cinq ans, propriétaire, native et domicilié à Vannes, fille de Monsieur René Marie Jollivet, ancien magistrat, et Dame Perrine Cécile Marquer, son épouse, veuve de Monsieur Eugène Galles. Capitaine d'infanterie, Belle-soeur du premier déclarant et Belle-soeur

47. "Louis Galles à sa Tante" (Imprimérie Galles, Vannes, n.d.). The story of Baucis and Philemon, as told by Ovid, is about a poor, long-married, and loving couple who offer hospitality to Jupiter and Mercury, disguised as wayfarers, when no other Phrygian will. The land is turned into a vast sea, killing all their surly neighbors, but they weep for them. They are rewarded for their kind hearts and the depth of their own love by being made priests of a fine temple for travelers and allowed to die linked forever as an oak and a linden bound together by a single trunk. Edith Hamilton, *Mythology* (Boston, 1998), 150–53.

> et cousine du second, est decédé en sa demeure rue de Chanoines ce jour à cinq heures du matin et ont les dits comparants signés avec nous après lecture du présent acte.[48]

Adèle thus departed, no doubt surrounded by all who could be there, the grandchildren attended by their *bonnes*, and her priest guiding her soul to the destiny she so certainly lived for as much as she lived for her husband's and her children's destinies on earth. And it was appropriate that Galles, the man who had always been her anchor, even in his own most painful hours, should bear the news of her passing to the record office that he himself had overseen for so many years.

48. Decès, Vannes, ADM, 4 E.

CHAPTER TEN

The Legacy

Bourgeois Nation Building and Civic Leadership

Our story now moves onto a larger canvas. It is the central argument of this book that "becoming bourgeois" must be understood not only from without, that is, in terms of accomplishments, but also, and perhaps above all, from within: within the family and its mores, its taken-for-granteds, its habitus, and within the grid of kinship that provides the bedrock of class solidarity. Nevertheless, accomplishment and power are the capstone of bourgeois identity. And of course the stage spreads far beyond the local, where we have largely remained. The work of French nation building in the nineteenth century was unquestionably led by men and women largely of bourgeois origin. One of the principal tasks of historians of kinship is to flesh out how kin ties opened the way to national roles for these people and how it provided the glue binding a national bourgeoisie.[1]

Nation Building by Kinship

The history of the Galles and their kin presents a microcosm of the process. It began with the establishment of a branch in Paris and the settling in of Jean-Marie I as a *bourgeois de Paris*, all facilitated by their prominent Audran cousins. René Jollivet I flirted with a Parisian career and came away with contacts and training in the law; achieving local political stature, he then served as a deputy and *procureur-général* during the early Restoration. His sister Marie, married to a talented local military officer, Jean-Marie Le Ridant, made connections with the Bourbon court in exile and in power through Madame de Sérent, a high Breton aristocrat whose *notaires* were Marie's father and brother. She then helped pave the way in the military careers of her nephews and of her husband through this influence as they rose to national recognition. We were able to follow Eugène's footsteps through the high society of provincial capitals and of Paris. But it was the next generation that achieved true national status and became integrated into the national bourgeoisie. Although Marie and other aunts and uncles played a role with money and contacts in starting the ascent of René and Félix Galles and Jules Jollivet, it was the mothers, Adèle Jollivet Galles and Juliette

1. For greater detail and a discussion of the problematic of nation building, see Christopher H. Johnson, "Into the World: Kinship and Nation-Building in France, 1750–1885," in *Transregional and Transnational Families in Europe and Beyond: Experiences since the Middle Ages*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson, David Warren Sabean, Simon Teuscher, and Francesca Trivellato (New York, 2011), 201–28. The discussion that follows is based on this essay.

Le Bouhéllec Jollivet, who steered their educations (as seen in detail with Adèle and René) and oversaw their courtships.

The July Monarchy was the political watershed, for Orléanism suited these families' sensibilities, and they were duly rewarded, as were many of those in their wider kin network. More and more young people from among the wealthy and educated moved across the nation—Vannetais off to elsewhere (usually via Paris, if not to stay there), and men and women from everywhere (including Paris) settling in Vannes and marrying there, attracted by professional opportunities often associated with public service. These opportunities, of course, had been significantly enlarged by the rationalization and centralization occasioned by the Revolution and the Empire and expanded even more after 1830 and especially during the Second Empire. Most families married both in and out, creating a growing map of kin to be relied upon for further enhancement of their interests and building the nation by building, marriage by marriage, a national bourgeoisie.

René Galles's experience was exemplary, and many of his direct kin followed suit. Though he married in, his brother Félix married out (though not far), and so it went. We have followed their histories through the Second Republic. René was promoted rapidly in various ordnance commands early in the Second Empire before being tapped for the Intendancy. This was the army corps reserved only for officers of higher rank; their functions were largely administrative: overseeing finances and pay, provisioning, outfitting, transport, housing, marches, and field encampments. A brilliant manager, René rose quickly through the ranks, serving as *sous-intendant militaire* (to his delight) in Vannes from 1862 to 1869, then *intendant militaire* in Algeria through the period of the Franco-Prussian War (thus largely untainted by defeat) and at Nantes during the seventies, finally becoming one of six national *intendants-général* in Paris before his retirement in 1880. At all posts, the regular hours allowed him to pursue his true passion, historical and archaeological research, and serve on several occasions as president of learned societies, including the Société polymathique du Morbihan, precisely fulfilling his mother's vision.

René Galles's combination of state service and academic achievement was perhaps his extended family's most inspiring story in the journey of Vannetais bourgeois into the world. But there were many others. After the Rennes appointment under Dubodan, René's brother Félix embarked on a career in the Ministry of Justice, culminating in a procurer-generalship and then a place on the high Cour de Cassation in Paris shortly before his death in 1870. His uncle Stanislas remained the chief judge of the Cour d'Appel of Rennes, one of the major jurisdictions in the nation. François-Marie Jollivet-Castelot moved from Vannes's city council to mayor during the Second Republic and then to the Corps législatif before his death in 1854. Jules Jollivet, a Saint-Cyrien, became a general in the infantry, heading the mission in Algeria in the late sixties, and was a key figure in the renovation of the military during the Third Republic. Louis Le Ridant, Alexis's son, rose to prominence as a Parisian lawyer and remained René Galles's closest confidant in the capital. We remember well the sad tale of his brother Jules (Cécile Galles's husband), another Saint-Cyrien. The third Ridant brother, Jean-Marie, went on to a career in Paris in the high echelons of the burgeoning postal service. Jules Trochu was a cousin by marriage, and Adèle's model for René.

His career is well known: a decorated hero of the Algerian, Crimean, and Italian wars, he was also a highly regarded military analyst, reformer, and anonymous author of a critical study of the army of the Second Empire. He had the misfortune of being the military commandant of Paris and interim head of government during the darkest days of the Siege and the Commune.[2] Adolphe Billault was Josephine Le Monnier's cousin. He made his career in law in Nantes and became a moderate republican politician, then was appointed minister of the interior by Napoléon III, serving in various capacities until his death in 1863.[3]

These kinfolk only begin the list of Vannetais whose state service carried the banner of their hometown into the nation. They usually could count on relatives and friends wherever they went, more so indeed than pioneers like Eugène Galles. Marriages continued to take place among locals, and even more often than before among relatives, but they also reached out across the land. It is this combination within the same families of endogamy and exogamy that needs emphasis, because it appears to be the classic nineteenth-century pattern, especially among the *classes dirigéantes*. To actually plot this process in detail, even for the Vannetais influx and diaspora, would require research throughout France and another book. But my careful analysis of marriages among the city's bourgeois elite can make some suggestions about it. The critical point is that most families seem to have reserved at least one marriage either with someone from beyond the Vannes orbit now resident in the city or with someone residing beyond that orbit.[4] And such marriages became more frequent as time went by.

The Galles and their kin illustrate the phenomenon. Once established in the city, the eighteenth-century generations married almost exclusively among Vannes natives (including those emigrating to the colonies), though Jacquette Bertin Galles valiantly sought regional printing alliances. The children of Marc Galles and René Jollivet, if not all marrying locally, still married close by to family friends. First-cousin marriage (Eugène and Adèle) and other close unions (Jean-Marie's) occurred as well. Only François Jollivet branched out to the Castelots of Lorient. In the next generation, five cousin marriages took place, but they were joined by six important exogamous unions: François-Marie Jollivet-Castelot to Anne Pélauque, whose father was a career customs inspector, now division chief in Vannes; Adèle Pavin to Marius Charrier, an architect from Noirmoutier who came to Vannes as its chief city planner; Jean-Marie Le Ridant II to Marie Favin, the daughter of a deceased elite army officer and born in Fontainebleau, who came to Vannes with her uncle, a tax official; Maria Jollivet to Charles Avrouin, born in Paris, whose father was the head of Morbihan tax services; and the marriages to the Taslé sisters, nieces of the mayor of Vannes, daughters of an appeals court judge in Rennes, by Félix Galles and Louis Galles.

2. Jules Trochu, *L'armée en 1867* (Paris, 1867). He defended his much-criticized role in *Pour la vérité et pour la justice* (Paris, 1873).

3. See Adolphe Robert, Edgar Bourloton, and Gaston Cougny, *Dictionnaire des Parlementaires français* (Paris, 1890), s.v. "Billault."

4. Roughly, a circle bounded by La Roche Bernard and Rochefort on the east, Sérent and Saint-Jean Brévelay on the north, and Auray on the west. Established relations could stretch to Redon, Josselyn, Pontivy, and Lorient, but they had their own orbits.

This inward-outward character of provincial bourgeois ascendancy was replicated by many other families in Vannes and no doubt throughout the nation. We can document them briefly with the following families.

This snapshot obviously does not do justice to the complexity of the lives and careers of these families, who were chosen because they had deep roots in the city and played significant roles in its life. Many individuals left Vannes without marrying there, and many others married into families not included here. Prominent among these are several of the most active men in the Société polymathique, such as Cayot-Delandre, Jan de la Gaillardaie, and Blutel. The numbers given in the chart cover only two generations. Most of the Vannetais indicated under "career" (in both columns) achieved success mainly in some form of public service, as was the case with our families. Included are three *procureurs-général*, two prefects, and three court of appeals judges. Moreover, six families produced ten deputies and senators, with the Caradecs and Guillo Dubodans leading the way.

Table 3. Marriages (1800–1852) and Career Paths (to 1880) of Vannetais Elite Families[1]

Name	**Endogamous**[2]	**Career(s)**	**Exogamous**[3]	**Career(s)**
Marquer	3 (1 cousin)	*notaires* (Vannes)	0	
Lorvol	3 (1 cousin)	medicine	0	
Lallemand	5 (2 cousin)	military, law	1 (Ploërmel)	judiciary
Danet	5	Adm., *prop.*, *nég.*	0	
Taslé	4 (1 cousin)	*notaire*, politics	2 (Rennes)	judiciary
Boullé	4 (2 cousin)	politics, military	3 (Paris)	politics, adm.
Thubé	4	military, judiciary	1 (Lyon)	military
Delorme	3 (1 cousin)	*négoce*	1 (Versailles)	mil. surgery
Claret	3 (1 cousin)	judiciary, medicine	1 (Rennes)	education
Morand	2	*négoce*, adm.	2 (Rennes)	education
Burgault	5 (1 cousin)	prop., *nég.*, law, pol.	2 (Rennes)	law, pol.
Huchet	4	jud., adm., *not.*	1 (Guer)	judiciary
Jamet	4 (1 cousin)	law, *nég.*	1 (Dordogne)	adm.
Jourdan	3	law, politics	2 (Caen)	adm.
Caradec	3	law, politics, judiciary	1 (Paris)	law
Lucas de Bourgarel	3	law, politics	1 (Caen)	adm.
Le Febvrier	6 (1 cousin)	law, adm., jud., med.	1 (Versailles)	military
Le Bouhéllec	3	law, military, adm.	0	
Mahé de Villeneuve	3	law, politics, military	1 (Paris)	law
Pradier	5 (1 cousin)	pol., adm., mil., med.	3 (Paris)	edu., adm.
Rialan	5 (1 cousin)	law, jud., mil.	2 (Bath, Eng.)	military
Thomas-Ducordic	2	law, *not.*, politics	1 (Paris)	military
Thomas-Clomaduec	3	medicine, *nég.*, adm.	1 (Paris)	education
Guillo Dubodan	4	politics, jud., military	2 (Paris)	military

[1] This table is created from my database concerning 412 families appearing in *actes de mariage* of Vannes after 1804. See Bibliographical Note 13. The choice of families for this list is based on their multiple appearances in the marriage documents (giving weight to larger families) and because I am familiar with their histories as a result of my intensive study of the city in this period. They also appear regularly in the Galles–Jollivet–Le Ridant correspondence, and by the second half of the nineteenth century, many were their relatives.

[2] Vannes's "orbit." See note 4. The term "endogamous" refers to both geographically and genetically close marriages.

[3] In the cases in which more than one was exogamous, only the most distant city of residence of the bride or groom is indicated. These numbers include both people who had migrated to Vannes and those instances in which the groom or bride (mostly the latter) would likely reside in the spouse's city. In either case, these are indicators of establishing kinship connections elsewhere.

Within the category of public service, the military stands out. In addition to our families' high officers, the numbers here include five generals or navy captains. Although Brittany was one of the less militarized of France's border provinces under the old regime, the Belle-Île base and the counterrevolutionary struggle heightened the prestige of military involvement in the Vannetais.[5] According to William Serman's figures for 1825–1865, if the numbers of officers from the Morbihan fell short of those from the land-border departments and Paris, only a tiny percentage were nobles, and it ranked high among departments where the officer corps was a family tradition. Within the department, Vannes's arrondissement accounted for nearly two-thirds. In part because of this growing reputation, the city would acquire early in the Third Republic garrisons for three regiments, a masterstroke promoted by Generals Trochu, Jollivet, and Galles.[6]

Civic Leadership

As important as professional accomplishment might be in the processes of national bourgeois class formation and bourgeois contributions to nation building, civic leadership and intellectual influence may be more so, certainly in the case of Vannes.[7] For the Galles, such leadership constituted their family's glory. Jean-Marie Galles II was the key figure, and his role is severely underappreciated by posterity. Not only did he run a leading publishing house in Brittany, but also his place in the history of civil society in the Morbihan (and beyond) was enormous. His long service in the administration of the city from 1815 to 1848 (as first *adjoint* and chief *état civil* officer as well as a city councilman) and the department (as a member of the three-man Conseil de la Préfecture during the July Monarchy) was his duty, not his passion. Like his father, he was an intellectual of the classic nineteenth-century type: a polymath. As I have alluded to several times, he was the key founder of the Société polymathique du Morbihan (SPM), which gathered like-minded men and received a charter from the state in 1826.

Members were drawn from the heart of the Vannes elite, mostly bourgeois, but including a number of aristocrats. All shared a commitment to the city, in the ancient sense. Civic action, moderate political perspectives (whether right or left), and kin cohesion (among the bourgeois) united them. Thirty-three men held leadership positions from 1826 to 1852, and twenty-two were related by blood or marriage to at least one other officer, fifteen to two or more. Galles, Taslé, Jollivet, Jourdan, the Claret brothers, Thomas-Ducordic, Lallemand, Burgault, Glais, and Morand were all relatives, eleven men whose connections could be configured in a hundred ways. As for the wider membership of this era (including active free associates and correspon-

5. Stéphane Perréon, *L'armée en Bretagne au XVIIIe siècle* (Rennes, 2005).

6. William Serman, *Les origins des officiers français (1848–1870)* (Paris, 1979), 272–74. See also Jean-Pierre Leguay, *Histoire de Vannes et de sa région* (Toulouse, 1988), 217–19.

7. This section is largely drawn from my chapter "Kinship, Civil Society, and Power in Nineteenth-Century Vannes," in *Kinship in Europe: Approaches to Long-Term Development (1300–1900)*, ed. David Warren Sabean, Simon Teuscher, and Jon Mathieu (New York, 2007), 258–83.

dents who later became full members), twenty-seven in number, fourteen, twelve of them officers, were related to at least one other member. Moreover, SPM membership overlapped with that of the Masonic lodge and, more widely, with the city's and department's political power structure. The leaders of Vannes's civil society, lively and effective, amounted to an intricate *cousinage*.

They were also decidedly *French*. As we have seen throughout this book, the Galles and their kin, though proud of their Breton heritage, considered themselves members of the nation, spoke nothing but French at home, and wrote in no other language. They looked to Paris as their cultural bellwether, did business, visited, and shopped there often, sent their children there for apprenticeships and higher education, and participated occasionally in Parisian high society. From an early date, they were thoroughly absorbed in French intellectual life and debated issues of literature, art, politics, and religion that were national in scope. In all this they were no different from members of the local elite with which they intertwined. It is well known, however, that of all the provinces of France, lower Brittany, which extended westward from a line somewhat to the east of Vannes north to Saint-Brieuc, was the most severely divided linguistically and culturally between town and country. We have seen Eugène Galles, stationed in Morlaix, live this experience and provide a perfect commentary on the amused disdain in which the French bourgeois held the Breton-speaking peasantry and their "savage" ways. The three families all had tenants whom they liked, and played with as children, but in the Vannetais, at least, these farmers spoke good French even though they might still know and communicate with fellow peasants in Breton. They were nevertheless beyond the pale when it came to "society" and marriage. The town-country divide played out most significantly, perhaps, in matters of religion. The rich tapestry of rural Breton religious practice was interlaced with activities and even liturgy that smacked of "superstition," indeed heresy, in the eyes of bourgeois. The colorful "pardons" and the intense veneration of the "Breton saints" who brought a variety of Christianity across the English Channel at the dawn of the Middle Ages seemed to evoke "Druidic" influences thoroughly suspect to "Roman" Catholics like the Galles. The questions with which these families and their friends and relatives grappled—Quietism or Jansenism versus Roman orthodoxy, René's skepticism versus his mother's standard faith—were a far cry from this world. Recall also Cécile I Galles's ennui regarding the Sainte-Anne d'Auray festival.

In all of this they differed from the great aristocratic landholders of the region, who, though "French" in ways similar to the urban elites, often spoke Breton and claimed stewardship over their peasantry dating back to mythic visions of harmony between their ancestors and the "free" tillers of the soil, and more recently as Chouan captains of peasant foot soldiers, whose actual motivations as counterrevolutionaries had little to do with loyalty to their local gentlemen. As we shall soon see, such differences figured significantly in the Société polymathique's scholarly struggle with the aristocratic-led movement for Breton autonomy.

Thus did the bourgeoisie of Vannes find themselves spearheading the classic nineteenth-century project, repeated across the land, of creating the nation through their civic and political involvement locally and regionally while simultaneously sending forth their sons and daughters into the nation, not only to achieve great things

as individuals, but also to cement connections of kinship that would construct the human links building the nation just as surely as did patriotic festivals, education, and laws emanating from the centralized state. In Stéphane Gerson's felicitous phrase, "pride of place" was manifested in concrete accomplishment at both the local and national levels simultaneously. It was a decidedly bourgeois effort that recalled the action of the medieval bourgeoisie and its complex relationship with the budding French state. It was no accident that in 1834, Augustin Thierry, in his capacity as director of the Comité des Monuments historiques, initiated as his principal project the preservation of the documentation and the protection of the physical remnants tracing the emergence and growth of medieval French cities and the role of their inhabitants in the making of France.[8]

The Société polymathique du Morbihan played the central role in the development of civil society in Vannes. It has lasted as an organization to the present, publishing a scholarly journal that dates to 1828 and still brings together—along with professional academics—Vannetais (and now Vannetaises) concerned about their region and its history.[9] The original nucleus of the SPM included fifteen men mainly interested in the natural history of the Morbihan, with its breathtaking gulf, plain, forest, and hilly uplands, one of the most geologically and biologically diverse departments in France. Jean-Marie Galles, an expert in geology, gathered a group of men excited about scientific discovery, historical debate, and civic improvement. Most worked in the private sector, among them two physicians, Prosper Claret and Bon-Yves Jan de la Gillardaie; Pierre-Marie Richard, a pharmacist; and the brilliant young *notaire* and amateur geologist Amand Taslé. Public employees included Badouin-Desmarattes, *géomètre en chef* for the department; Le Lièvre, the postal service director; engineers Blutel and Luczot; and Toussaint Rallier, the mathematics professor at the Collège. All but two were of commoner origin, and the average age of the fourteen was thirty-three.[10] At their opening meeting they made the prefect and the mayor (both aristocrats) honorary members and praised their work profusely, but the new secretary of the society, Mauricet, let it be known that they were not pandering to power, for "our character and our social station carry us above any suspicion of flattery," a striking statement of bourgeois pride.[11] The SPM's statutes were typical of the era, as were its numbers, achieving a maximum of thirty-eight resident members during the July Monarchy.[12] To become a voting "resident" member, one had to be from the Vannes area, "have

8. Stéphane Gerson, *Pride of Place: Local Memories and Political Culture in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, NY, 2003): Jean-Yves Guiomar, *Le bretonisme: Les historiens bretons au XIXe siècle*, preface by Michel Denis (Mayenne, 1987), 96–99.

9. The *Bulletin* of the society and related printed materials are housed in the reading room of the ADM. The University of Michigan Library possesses almost a complete run from 1857.

10. Chaline stresses that at least in the nineteenth century, most learned societies could hardly be labeled a "sport pour l'âge mur," with membership largely of men in the prime of life. Jean-Pierre Chaline, *Sociabilité et erudition: Les sociétés des savants en France, XIXe–XXe siecles* (Paris, 1982), 131–33. Indeed, in almost all respects, the SPM was typical of learned societies throughout the nation.

11. M. Mauricet, *Compte rendue des travaux du Société polymathique du Morbihan* (Vannes, 1827), 3–4.

12. Most societies in France were limited to certain numbers during the first six decades of the century; the size of the city and the purpose of the organization were usually more important reasons for this than politics. Chaline, *Sociabilité*, chap. 2.

demonstrated knowledge in the sciences or in the arts," and be nominated by a member and receive the support of two-thirds of the membership. Other interested parties might attend presentation sessions and give papers, creating a larger pool of intellectual comrades and community activists. The society quickly developed an impressive list of corresponding members nominated by *sociétés savantes* around the nation with stature particularly in the natural sciences. The residents could thus function as an elite *cercle* but interact with a much wider range of participants. Politically, the SPM represented all elements of Vannes opinion, from hidebound legitimism to republicanism. By statute, of course, actual political discussion at meetings was forbidden.[13]

The reports by members during the 1830s and 1840s varied greatly in focus, but most foresaw practical applications. Agricultural improvement rated high in a departmental economy increasingly dependent on it. The *Annuaire* published statistical surveys of every canton to help draft recommendations of local agricultural societies and influence action by the state. More controversial, the *domaine congéable*, the exploitative leasehold held by many wealthy Vannetais, was scrutinized in Emmanuel Thomas-Ducordic's scathing critique of its fragility and mediocre productivity. Geological reports, meteorological analysis, surveys of local flora and fauna, public health recommendations (Dr. Dantu on cholera, Dr. Claret and Taslé on smallpox vaccination, Dr. Voisin on popular resistance to modern medicine, Chanu on the toxic effects of central-city slaughter sites, Richard on the effects of opium on the brain), urban building and traffic projects (e.g., Pierre Claret on the vagaries of French eminent domain law), studies of Vannes's water supply, engineer Brégéon's exposé of the inadequacy of the city fire department: the list of applied scientific papers goes on and on. They were coupled with general surveys such as Charles Gaillard's "Sur l'agriculture" (1831–32), which showed the array of benefits that scientific research could bring to farm production, or Brégéon's promotion of the "marriage of science and industry," in which he argued that France, because of the greater role of the state, possessed more potential than England.[14]

Even history and literature papers had a pragmatic edge. Gaillard's study of the megaliths of Locmariaquer included recommendations for using potential tourist revenue for agricultural improvement. And at least three papers of the early thirties attacked Breton traditions, establishing a theme that runs through the history of the society and mirroring elite opinion already noted, whatever their politics. Galles led off with a long "État de la civilisation de Bretagne," in which he lamented the deterioration of the ancient Celtic culture, now dominated by superstition locked in by a moribund language. Let us therefore, he urged, "favor the progress of the French language and destroy the current usage of the Breton language . . . in spreading edu-

13. *Règlement de la Société polymathique du Morbihan établie le 26 mai 1826* (Vannes, 1826). The society met the first Thursday of the month, with a "séance solonnelle" every May 29, when the best papers of the year would be read (thus practicing Carol Harrison's "émulation"). It rented houses at first, then occupied the Maison Lorvol (which the good doctor bequeathed to the SPM after his death) on the place des Lices from 1851 to 1912, at which point it purchased the magnificent Château Gaillard. Bertrand Frélaut, "L'acquisition du Château Gaillard par la SPM," *Bulletin du SPM* (2001): 268.

14. These articles appeared in the annual *Comptes rendues* from 1827 to 1833 and in the *Annuaire* thereafter. See also Henry Marsille, "Les cent soixante ans de la Société polymathique," *Bulletin de la SPM* (1986): 1–23.

cation in our countryside."[15] Marie-Francois Cayot Delandre wrote about the awakening of French literature in the sixteenth century, but also stressed the deadening effect of Breton on French literature in Brittany. Finally, Abbé Le Berre ridiculed several Breton Christian legends and their "alleged miracles." Thus modern, rational French Catholicism weighed in as well. And one subject studiously avoided was the Chouannerie. The society welcomed aristocrats and clerics but did not nostalgize the sturdy Breton peasant loyal to his bilingual priest and *seigneur*. In this way it diverged sharply from the rival Association bretonne (founded 1843), dominated by legitimist aristocrats searching for their Celtic roots and glorifying resistance to the imperialist French state. The SPM stood against this regional nationalism, a battle to which we will return. The Société polymathique thus emerges ideologically very much like its creator, Jean-Marie Galles, a moderate and pragmatic royalist, an enlightened Catholic, and a man imbued with civic virtue.

A previous analysis demonstrates in detail the developing integration of the SPM membership (the sixty-five men serving from 1826 to 1852) with the administration and elected officials of the department, who often were members of the organization.[16] At the same time, members used their prominence in civil society as a springboard to appointments and elected office. All the mayors (but most significantly Amand Taslé, who served from 1838 to 1846) and Prefect Lorois, along with a score of city councilmen of the July Monarchy, were active members. Most members were of equivalent *notable* social and economic stature, though some of the hardest workers in the society, such as Secretaries Mauricet and Cayot Delandre, and physician and public health advocate Dr. Dantu, were of lower status. And, with such exceptions, the society's members, and especially its leaders, were generally tied by bonds of kinship with one another and with the political power structure. At all levels of authority, administrative decision making, legislative budgetary authorization, and technical execution (plus legal advice and judicial support if necessary), SPM members and their associates were ready to act on behalf of civic improvement. Relations among the various elements of this power mix were, not surprisingly, harmonious, the only notes of serious contention arising during the Second Republic. The political homogenization of the elite was made all the clearer by the Dantu regime's ineffectiveness. And indeed Dantu, as a member of the city council, quietly swore his allegiance to the Second Empire and focused on practical projects.

The critical limitation in the realization of proposals emanating from the society's research and visions was fiscal. The town's budget, derived principally from the *octroi* (a levy on goods entering the city), increased from around 100,000 francs per year to twice that during the July Monarchy, but it included many fixed costs that increased with the population, making most special projects dependent on bond issues and state subventions. Nevertheless, two major public health projects—an abattoir on the city's outskirts and the first elements of securing an adequate, safe, and universally available water supply—were accomplished under the leadership of Mayor Taslé (1838–1846).

15. *Compte rendu des déliberations de la SPM, 1830–1831* (Vannes, 1831), 10.
16. Johnson, "Kinship, Civil Society, and Power."

The city's *architecte-voyer*, young Marius Charrier, Galles's nephew-in-law and associate in the SPM, oversaw the slaughterhouse construction. Both projects could rely on expert analysis by SPM members exposing the threats of contaminated meat and cholera. Less costly, vaccination made significant progress, in part as a result of SPM papers mentioned earlier, as peasant and working-class resistance to the idea declined. The Comité central de Vaccine, chaired by SPM member César Pradier and coordinated with the public by Taslé in the early thirties, did fine work, in cooperation with the clergy, in spreading the message to the people. At Brégéon's urging, the fire department was indeed better funded and reformed. Loss by fire in the city dropped rapidly, especially as water supply improved. Departmental agricultural production advanced markedly (as it did in most places in France) after 1840 as all levels of government did everything in their power to rationalize land tenure law and promote innovation. The very existence of the *Annuaire*, with its many articles and cantonal surveys, contributed to new ways of thinking. Primary education, whether lay or religious, made important forward strides, and the language of instruction was indeed French. The department became increasingly dotted with plaques marking historical monuments saved from the ravages of time, neglect, and the occasional stonecutter. In Vannes, building projects, such as the clearance of the *parvis* of the cathedral and a new main street connecting it with the lower city by the port, multiplied—most, along with water and gas street illumination, not completed until the Second Empire, when central state funding became adequate.[17] Initiated thanks to the political skills and dedication to progress of Mayor Jollivet-Costelot but completed by Mayor Lallement (1854–1869), both ardent *sociétaires*, a mini-Hausmannization took place in Vannes, mirroring progress in cities elsewhere in France, in part a result of the civic-minded influence of voluntary associations of those cities' elites.[18]

In all of these activities, the Galles-Jollivet family played a central role. Jean-Marie Galles had emerged as the kin group's leading local figure and a crucial link between civil society and government. Besides his roles as founder of the SPM, in various offices of the organization, and as curator of the group's museum, he became the main force in promoting research on the mysterious stones that would become the region's most precious historical monuments. His son Louis and nephew René Galles, as we shall see, were among the principal archaeologists uncovering their true origins. As noted, Galles was a force in local politics and administration during the July Monarchy, but his main claim as a champion of civic progress was his influence, as a member of the prefectoral council, with Édouard Lorois. Lorois became the Morbihan's longest-serving prefect and instituted most of the major projects marking material and moral progress during Louis Philippe's reign. Besides the many works in and around the capital, he authorized a major bridge across the Étel estuary, the rebuilt span of which still bears his name. Lorois became an intimate of the Galles family,

17. There is no history of Vannes in the pre–Third Republic nineteenth century. Most of this information is drawn from Bertrand Frélaut, *Les maires de Vannes au XIXe siècle: Les hommes. leur pouvoir, leur action* (Vannes 2001), chap. 6 ("Comment les maires de Vannes ont équipé leur ville"), 71–80; and from various reports in *L'annuaire du Morbihan*, 1833–1856.

18. Chaline, *Sociabilité*, chap. 7.

attending and presiding at several weddings, and is mentioned in correspondence frequently on a personal basis. He in many respects symbolizes the perfect high-level public servant in the age of Louis Philippe, just as Galles and his kin network symbolize the local bourgeois ascendancy and the remaking of one's town in the image of its middle-class elite.[19]

The National Stage: Combating *le Bretonisme*

The Société polymathique's impact on the flowering of civil society in the first half of the nineteenth century was largely regional,[20] but over the next thirty years its reputation and that of several of its researchers, notably the Galles cousins René and Louis, became national. Although members contributed significantly in other fields such as land tenure reform and preservation of historical monuments, it was in prehistory and archaeology where they made their mark. It had to do, of course, with the long-venerated "Celtic monuments," the menhirs of the Morbihan. But their work was more than that as well, for SPM historians led the intellectual defense of the French nation against the challenge of historians and archaeologists on the legitimist right seeking to demonstrate the racial claims of Bretons for autonomy.

In 1843 another learned society, the Association bretonne, was formed under the leadership of men largely from Nantes and Saint-Brieuc interested in agricultural reform and the history of the province, which they argued dovetailed nicely. Their first convention was in Vannes, and several prominent members of the SPM, including Mayor Taslé, Jean-Marie Galles, and Alfred Lallemand, enthusiastically supported the new organization, whose founding members included public officials, scholars, journalists, and *amateurs* in various fields of research from every corner of Brittany. For the most part, the proponents of agricultural reform were politically liberal (and a few with Fourierist and Saint-Simonian credentials), while those more interested in history and archaeology were on the right, many of them of noble Breton stock.[21] The conflicting perspectives were immediately apparent at the convention, as the latter faction sought to create a separate "Classe archéologique" that they would control. Though not immediately successful, this group, which initially included a number

19. Lorois seems to have been lost to history, though an anonymous author in the French version of Wikipedia (posted in 2012) provides a few details. As a young lawyer, he rallied to Napoleon's return from Elba and was named *sous-préfet* at Châteaubriant, where he encountered Chouan forces. After Waterloo he led Bonapartist troops to Nantes and was soon exiled to Brussels, returning only after the Revolution of 1830. One of the many Bonapartists to align himself with Louis Philippe, he was appointed to the Morbihan. His closeness with the Galles family underlines their evolution towards Orléanism via Bonapartist relatives.

20. See Philip Nord and Nancy Bermeo, eds., *Civil Society before Democracy: Lessons from Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Boston, 2000); and Carol Harrison, *The Bourgeois Citizen in Nineteenth-Century France: Gender, Sociability, and the Uses of Emulation* (Oxford, 1999), for comparative perspectives.

21. The class makeup of the "Classe archéologique" can be discerned from the membership lists at the back of each volume of the *Bulletin Archéologique de l'Association Bretonne*, 1849–1856. For a more detailed account of this and the argument that follows, see Christopher H. Johnson, "Class Dimensions of Blood, Kinship, and Race in Britanny, 1780–1880," in *Blood and Kinship: Matter and Metaphor from Ancient Rome to the Present*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson, Bernhard Jussen, David Warren Sabean, and Simon Teuscher (New York, 2013), 196–226.

of interested SPM members, increasingly dominated the organization and its annual *Bulletin*, while the focus on agricultural development faded as its proponents went on to other pursuits.

By the late 1840s, and fueled by the political effervescence of the Second Republic, the association became a hotbed of "Bretonisme," a discourse based in history, ancient literature, and archaeology which sought to demonstrate the originality, distinctness, and racial homogeneity of Brittany and its population with a eye toward the contemporary possibility of a separate Breton nation, or at least autonomy within a restored Bourbon monarchy.[22] It drew upon continuing legitimist opinion and the emotional residue of the Chouan resistance to the Revolution and Empire. But the new element was the rediscovery of the glories and destiny of the Breton "race" and its brotherhood with the other sons (daughters largely figured as symbols) of the once dominant "Celtic" race. Although dozens of writers contributed to this body of thought, the Bretoniste mainstream was led by two accomplished scholars, the ethno-linguist Baron Théodore Hersart de La Villemarqué (1815–1895) and historian Arthur Lemoyne de La Borderie (1827–1901), both Breton aristocrats. La Villemarqué unquestionably had the greater impact, for his collection of the songs and ballads of Brittany, *Barzaz Breiz*, of 1839 immediately became an iconic symbol of the beauty and complexity of Breton popular culture and took a prominent place in the broad "Celtic renaissance" across the far western captive nations of Europe from Galicia to the Hebrides. The literary revival celebrating the folk heritage was integral to the explosion of nationalist sentiment everywhere in Europe and mixed freely with the flowering of a discourse that regularly confounded nation with race, based in the assumption that the mental and emotional qualities, the national characteristics of a people, were "in the blood."[23] La Villemarqué went on to a distinguished career, including induction into the Académie française, but it was marred late in life as new scholarship threw the validity of much of his masterwork into doubt.[24] La Borderie was undoubtedly the leading Breton historian of his generation, a member of the Institut, and an ardent believer in document-based history. Their prestige (La Borderie's arising quickly from a series of presentations and "interventions" at association congresses from 1847 on) won over a majority in the association. But a vital minority, many from the SPM, remained. Differences had little to do with religion or even politics but a great deal to do with class and culture, for the latter group was largely bourgeois and decidedly "French."

It rapidly became clear what was at stake. Alfred Lallemand, the Galles kinsman, was a conservative Catholic and Louis Bizeul of Nantes a liberal without strong religious opinions. But both agreed on a view of history. Labeled "Romanistes," they argued that "Bretons" were just another variety of Gallo-Romans, mixed in blood and culture and sharing many traits and values with the rest of France, while also hav-

22. The classic study of this phenomenon is Jean-Yves Guiomar, *Le bretonisme: Les historiens bretons au XIXe siècle* (Mayenne, 1987).

23. There is of course a huge literature on the subject, which does not need to be cited here. Ivan Hanneford's discussion in *Race: The History of an Idea in the West* (Baltimore, 1996), 180–324, covers these developments well.

24. Guiomar, *Le bretonisme*, 210–11.

ing, like all the provinces in the nation, their own prideful distinctions. Lallemand's studies of the historical archaeology of religious edifices were rooted in the belief that Brittany was one of the great bastions of *Roman* Catholicism and downplayed Breton differences, writing them off as superstitions common among peasant cultures everywhere.[25] Bizeul was the reigning expert on Roman roads in Brittany and argued that their network and excellence throughout the Armorican peninsula, along with much other evidence, showed how thoroughly it had been Romanized. These men and their own local societies cooperated fully with the Comité des Travaux historiques, while Bretonistes mistrusted "Paris" and its influence. Augustin Thierry, director of the committee, saw his focus on the origins and development of the cities and towns in France as a way to prove the importance on French soil of the Gallo-Roman "race," which, led by the bourgeoisie, had overthrown the "Frankish" nobility in the Revolution and steered the nation in a "bourgeois monarchy with republican institutions." The 1830s project was at the root of the creation of a nationwide system of departmental archives. In Vannes, Gustav Morand led the study and became the Morbihan's first archivist. He was succeeded in the 1850s by a professional historian trained at the École des Chartes, Louis Rozenzweig, who would be one of the most important figures in the SPM and the anti-Bretoniste camp. The Thierry campaign tended to further an ideological bias against nobility and legitimism as well as against provincial nationalism. This bias remained into the Second Empire, and Napoléon III rescinded the authorization of the Association bretonne in 1856, thus giving a tremendous advantage to the SPM and the Romanists. But the Bretonistes were hardly silenced and soon launched the *Revue de Bretagne*, which became their chief organ, complementing their numerous learned tomes, many of which were crowned with prizes. And so the battle was engaged.

The disputed issues centered on the deepest (and most difficult to research) history of the Armorican peninsula. One must remember that most constructions of racial/national histories in nineteenth-century Europe focused on origins, as if they somehow set the course of the race's place in the world. Several *idées reçues* from grand narratives of the eighteenth century dominated the debate. Most important in the long run for René Galles and the SPM was the notion that the Celts had largely obliterated the previous inhabitants across most of western Europe and were responsible for the many monuments, megaliths, and tumuli found everywhere but the majority concentrated in western France and Britain. Their time of arrival was unknown, but conquest was completed early in the first millennium BCE, and they had erected the stones that symbolized their heritage. Few doubted this thesis, in some respects the most profound claim to the Celtic destiny of Brittany as well as its deepest ties to the British Isles, as of 1850.

Thinking that this Celtic inheritance was, so to speak, carved in stone, the Bretonistes concentrated on the era of written history, developing a narrative extolling Celtic resistance and survival at every stage.[26] They allowed that the Romans may

25. For example, Alfred Lallemand, *Notice historique sur la très ancienne chapelle de sainte Anne et la statue miraculeuse qui en provenait* (Vannes, 1862).

26. For details, see Johnson, "Class Dimensions."

have established control over these far reaches of the empire, but were thinly established with little intermixture of peoples, unlike the rest of Gallo-Roman France. Hence Celtic racial continuity. Just as important, Roman Christianity of the late empire, despite the efforts of Saint Martin of Tours, penetrated Brittany only weakly: the true Christian conversion did not come until the mass migration of the Celts from Britain, forced by the Anglo-Saxon invasion accomplished by those Breton saints. The difficult question was who was there upon their arrival? What had been the impact of the previous Avar incursions into the Armorican peninsula? Bretonistes divided on the issue, some arguing that peninsular Celts bravely fought off the invaders and later welcomed their brothers from the north, others that the local population, whatever its racial composition, was devastated, and the Britons entered a wasteland. In either case, this new entity, Brittany, was Celtic, and its vibrant culture was established. It was hierarchical, yes, but different from elsewhere in Europe. Key to Bretoniste arguments was a point with profound contemporary political significance: that lord-peasant relationships under "Breton feudalism" were mutually sustaining, bathed in a benevolence born of their racial bonds; the characteristic form of Breton land tenure, the *domaine congéable* (land owned by the lord, productive wherewithal owned by the tenant), exemplified the shared responsibility inherent in this relationship. Such a vision translated easily into a politics of legitimist paternalism and a return to the supposed order and tranquillity of the bygone independence of Brittany under the ancien régime. The rest of the story amounted to an epic in which racially cohesive Bretons fought off all Frankish, then Norman, invaders and established a independent duchy which consistently kept the French monarchy at arm's length, even if it meant strategic compromises as time went by. La Borderie's multivolume history of Brittany before 1789 (a most appropriate cutoff point) became the bible of the movement.[27] Throughout, the main question had to do with the depth of the impact of non-Celtic peoples and cultures on the character and historical development of the Breton peninsula.

The main venue of the counter-Bretoniste argument resided in the *Bulletin de la Société polymathique du Morbihan*, which began publishing regularly in 1858. It was anything but a campaign of *parti-pris* but instead a process derived slowly from the fruits of the society's members' research. The new generation of *érudits*, though larger in number, shared the same profile as those of the July Monarchy, drawn from the leading families of Vannes; many, like the Galles, were sons, sons-in-law, and nephews of the previous leaders. The important place of local officials in the society, under both the Second Empire and the early Third Republic, remained as well. One basic change, however, was the shift from an emphasis on practical projects of local interest to a range of scholarly questions that might concern Brittany but had larger, and national, significance.

27. Arthur Lemoyne de La Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, vols. 1–4 (Rennes, 1904–1906). This is the most complete edition of the book, which went through seven revisions after it was first published in the 1860s. The essential themes went unchanged. See Johnson, "Class Dimensions."

Most of the SPM's papers reveal serious scholarship based on original research. Prudence was the members' watchword, their methodologies advancing incrementally. In an address of 1863, General René Galles, then the society's president, now achieving fame in the work he always coveted most, in archaeology, captured their spirit: "Modest pioneers in a science born yesterday, we shall never tire of research; let us multiply the facts, accumulate the discoveries. Let us with all our will shed light upon the grand questions that touch upon the origins and migration of the races; but we must beware, in our haste, of taking for rays of scientific truth those uncertain glimmers that seem to augur a hidden hypothesis."[28]

With this skeptical approach, the SPM delivered some of the most damaging criticism of Bretoniste historiography. The society's overall message was to challenge its racist enthusiasm and its dreams of Breton autonomy. Contributors avoided the heroic language of Bretonisme, though like virtually everyone else in later nineteenth-century Europe, they accepted the notion of "human races" as a biological fact and used the term "Celtic race." They were proud Bretons and embraced aspects of Breton culture. But they were "French" first, whether republican or royalist. From correspondence and other personal documents, one can discern that they had nothing personally against nobles, actively cooperating in scholarship and socializing with them, but as we have seen with the Galles-Jollivet circle, they rejected their legitimist, increasingly autonomist politics. And this was the crux of the matter, for Celticism in Brittany was largely aristocratic and reactionary.

The major contribution of SPM research was to throw doubt on the first and unquestioned verity of Celtic pride: that the great stoneworks stretching from Locmariaquer to Stonehenge were erected by their ancestors. They were commemorated in a poem by Auguste Brizeux.[29] Henri Martin had just completed a general survey of them when he spoke at the 1867 Congrès celtique, adding his great weight to this assertion.[30] The Vannetais group did not use the term "Celtic" in their early investigations, but began to employ it in the 1840s as outsiders labeled them so. But skepticism began to appear in the pages of the *Bulletin* of the SPM in the 1860s, as their archaeologists examined the gravesites "said to be Celtic" close to the visible alignments of Carnac. A paper by René Galles of 1863 was crucial. As a result of his dig at Manné-er-H'roëk (Mountain of the Fairy), a large tumulus (mound) where he uncovered a dolmen (gravesite). What he in fact discovered was a "pluralité" of crypts. The first, and most finished, had mysterious symbolic markings of which he reproduced drawings. Sifting the "debris" found at various levels yielded pieces of bronze, pottery, and polished stone, seemingly in that order going downward, all suggesting "the image of one civilization succeeding another much more rudimentary." But what ones? He then asks rhetorically: "Should we despair of finding the age of these monuments that we

28. *Bulletin du Société polymathique du Morbihan* (*BSPM*) (1863): 101.

29. Auguste Brizeux, "Chant cinquième—Carnac," *Les Bretons* (Paris, 1846), 67–77.

30. Henri Martin, "De l'origine des monuments mégalithique," *Congrès celtique* (1867): 164–89. He also took into account the existence of megaliths in North Africa but attributed them to "blue-eyed, blond-haired Libyans" mentioned in ancient Egyptian inscriptions, and argued these were Celts, too (188–89).

name *celtique*, a bit haphazardly . . . ? Should we despair of knowing to what race we should attribute them? The stones speak, but we are ignorant of their language. . . . Who will teach it to us?"[31]

Although Dr. Closmadeuc seemed certain already in 1866 that "these wondrous constructions" dated "from the Stone Age,"[32] over the following years, systematic exploration at one site after another uncovered such a variety of forms and materials that researchers remained unwilling to assign any designation to their original construction. Louis Galles argued that voluminous evidence showed the presence in the tumuli of both Gaulois and pre-Celtic Stone Age peoples, though the former predominated. His main point, however, was that dolmens of this sort were found everywhere in the world, that there was nothing uniquely "Celtic" about them.[33] An analysis by a prominent geologist argued that none of the stones used in the menhirs and megaliths were cut or shaped by hand, but were natural loose pieces, some arranged, some not, but used for some ritual purpose, and that the stones of the dolmens were found naturally as well.[34] When René Galles was assigned as *intendant militaire* of Algeria in the late sixties, he continued his archaeological work there. His discovery of many menhirs and megaliths in Kabylia led him to research the phenomenon on a worldwide basis, from Mexico to Southeast Asia, and conclude, simply, that they were ritual objects of many early civilizations worldwide.[35] Assessing the implications, he would ask in 1882, does this reality not underline "the permanence of a confraternity of races resulting from a commonality of origin?"[36] But the emerging point was that "Celts" did not construct the great stone complexes.

Space does not permit any detailed discussion of other aspects of SPM contributions to the anti-Bretoniste perspective. Suffice it to say that the research built on Bizeul's Romanist themes with further studies of Roman roads and fortifications,[37] the persistence of the Gallo-Roman population and its early dedication to Christianity,[38] and studies of land tenure, particularly *domaine congéable*, which linked the form, if not the name, to Roman law and Gallo-Roman practices,[39] all supporting the general point that the Morbihan and the southern coast were much less affected by the Breton migration from the north. The implication was thus that "Brittany" owed as much to Gaul and the Roman occupation as it did to Celts from overseas. In general, if the

31. René Galles, "Manné-er-H'roëk: Dolmen découvert sous un tumulus à Locmariaquer," *BSPM* (1863): 30–31. The previous year, Galles had opened an investigation of the tumulus of Saint-Michel, which in the long run was more important in dating these sites.

32. "Allocution de M. de Closmadeuc en prenant le fauteuil de la présidence," *BSPM* (1867): 2.

33. L. Galles, "Comment les dolmens pourraient bien avoit été construits par les Gaulois," *BSPM* (1873): 50–75.

34. M.-A. Guyot-Jomard, "Sur la provenance des granits qui ont servi à élever les monuments dits celtiques," *BSPM* (1866): 101–6. This was only partially correct, but he was assuming that the builders were quite "primitive."

35. R. Galles, "Un souvenir de Kabylie à propos des alignements de Carnac," *BSPM* (1881): 22–25.

36. "Allocution de M. Galles en prenant le fauteuil de la Présidence," *BSPM* (1882): 2.

37. See articles by Closmadeuc and others, *BSPM* (1870s).

38. See by Lallemand and others several pieces on Breton rituals and relics, *BSPM* (1870s).

39. Émile Burgault, "Origine du domaine congéable," *BSPM* (1868 and 1869) (contended by Courson).

SPM writers regarded the Celts as a race and explored its history,[40] they eschewed the notion of a "Breton race" and rejected any claim of "blood" binding a Breton nation.[41] The voluminous studies of ecclesiastical monuments and church history also stressed the integration of the Breton church into that of France and its ties to Rome, though no one denied the early role of La Borderie's Breton saints in the conversion of the north and west. The society thus quietly did its work, living by the words of René Galles's last presidential address of 1883: "Facts, facts! cried Augustin Thierry, the only warp of the loom on which one can weave the stuff of history."[42]

Overall, it made sense that the scholars within the Société polymathique, focusing as they did on the southeastern area of lower Brittany, should lead the critique of Bretoniste history: they had by far the deepest knowledge of Brittany's prehistory, most significantly the stones in their own backyard, and they inched their way toward the modern understanding of the pre-Celtic origins of them. Carbon dating now places their construction from the fourth millennium to the early second BCE, erected and, at Carnac and elsewhere, aligned with the sunrise and sunset at the solstices by (perhaps) sun worshipers like the builders of Stonehenge. And again, modern understanding views the formation of the Breton people, their vital culture, and their historical institutions as an intermixture of Gallo-Roman and insular Briton influences (though the latter being predominant), with regional differences southeast to west and north. It is a perspective from which notions of race and blood are absent.[43]

But it is not the point here to say who was right or wrong. Rather it is to underline the important contribution to the national debates on race and politics made by the bourgeois of Vannes, and especially the Galles circle, an endeavor placing them in the national limelight. In so doing, they participated in the measured and persistent scholarly struggle against the bane of the late nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries that so brutalized the human soul and took millions of victims. They were not alone as representatives of their class. Historians and citizens of all walks of Western life (I certainly among them) have had with much reason taken a critical stance on the behavior of the bourgeois elites who presided over the evolution of Western governments and the societies they ruled in that era, but they also produced the architects of peace and progress in many areas who in the end constructed the ways out of the abyss. The people we have lived with in this book, whose values and decisions have not always been applauded, nevertheless have left a record from the depths of their

40. See Émile Burgault's two long articles on Celtic origins and migrations, *BSPM* (1870 and 1871). Burgault was the future republican mayor of Vannes and was situated, as we know, at the very heart of its bourgeoisie.

41. In this they were joined by fellow urban Breton Ernest Renan, whose famous "Qu'est-ce qu' une nation" denouncing the equation of race and nation was delivered at the Sorbonne in 1882.

42. "Allocution de M. Galles," *BSPM* (1885): 2.

43. Many of the debates are, appropriately, linguistic: see Léon Fleuriot, *Les origines de la Bretagne: L'émigration* (Paris, 1980). The most up-to-date general history at this writing is Joël Cornette, *Histoire de la Bretagne et des Bretons*, vol. 1, *Des âges obscurs à Louis XIV* (Paris, 2005). For southeastern Brittany, see Noël-Yves Tonnerre, *Naissance de la Bretagne: Géographie historique et structures sociales de la Bretagne méridionale (Nantais et Vannetais) de la fin du VIIIe à la fin du XIIe siècle* (Angers, 1994). For the view from Wales, which stressed the centrality of the migration, see Nora K. Chadwick, *Early Brittany* (Cardiff, 1969).

intimate life that helps us to understand that study, pursuit of truth, prudence, moderation, compromise, emulation, civility, and dedication to good works, bourgeois (*and* universal, Monsieur Barthes) virtues all, define the West and its future as much as the destructive impulses that are rooted there as well.[44]

Vannetais thus took their place in the nation. Public service, especially military and intellectual, led the areas of excellence. Geographical location and local history had something to do with this fact. But there was another reason. These are fields where merit counted for a good deal, and most of these men were highly talented and raised, indeed selected, to make the most of it. And coming from a backwater like Vannes in misty lower Brittany made the concerted role of kin on behalf of the chosen all the more important if they were to make their way into the national bourgeoisie. It was indeed a meritocracy, that *noblesse d'état* made famous by Bourdieu and charted so beautifully for the later nineteenth century by Christophe Charle; but as this book and many recent studies have so patiently demonstrated, the interaction of merit (and its consequent power in society and politics) with kinship must be taken into account if our understanding of modern Western history is to be complete.[45]

Throughout this book I have tried to keep the focus on the families whose correspondence made the tale. I hope that the reader came to occupy their world and to share the emotions of their triumphs and tragedies as much as I have. It has been a long journey from that obscure moment when a printer from Wales arrived in Caen, and his son saw better opportunities in Vannes. Ian Galles became Jean Galles (eventually le Sieur du Clos) and married his master's daughter. But it was his second wife, Olive Buor, who advanced the fortunes of the family, becoming the first in a line of women who married in: Jeanne Audran (hence Paris), Jacquette Bertin (hence wealth), Marie Jollivet Le Ridant (hence power), and Adèle Jollivet (our hero), whose intelligence, determination, and *tendresse* guided their wider and wider kin universe toward becoming bourgeois.

But now it is time to think about the larger meaning of a story centered in a part of France rather to one side of the mainstream narrative of French history. First, it must be stressed that Vannes, despite its location, was not really that atypical of most medium-sized French cities in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. There is no question that it was not economically dynamic in the nineteenth century. Its former role as the principal outlet for grain from its fertile hinterland had been taken over by Lorient and with it many of the attendant activities and professions of a thriving port. The town's role as an administrative center continued, however, and was enhanced by

44. I cite here a controversial though profoundly interesting book, Deirdre N. McCloskey, *The Bourgeois Virtues: Ethic for an Age of Commerce* (Chicago, 2006).

45. On the notion of "meritocracy" as it evolved in France, see above all Bruno Belhoste, *La formation d'une technocratie: L'École polytechnique et ses élèves de la Révolution au Second Empire* (Paris, 2003), 311–18; also Pierre Bourdieu, *La noblesse d'État: Grandes écoles et esprit de corps* (Paris, 1989). Christophe Charle's exhaustive study *Les élites de la République (1880–1900)* (Paris, 1987) explores the intertwining of influence and power at the highest levels of government and society during an era when the democratic promise of the Revolution was supposedly fulfilled. He does not focus on kinship as much as he might, perhaps, no doubt, because of the absence of global genealogical data. It is still a work in progress.

its victory, owed to the historic role and power of its diocese, over Lorient as capital of the new département du Morbihan early in the Revolution.[46] Vannes had a mildly pro-revolutionary history from the beginning, led by a bourgeoisie for the most part based in commercial, professional, and governmental occupations who shifted with the political winds (except during the Terror),[47] and who, as we have seen, got along well enough with fellow moderates in the royalist camp. "Ordinary revolutionaries,"[48] they and their city segued nicely into the Empire and played a major role in the military apparatus of the state, especially because of Vannes's statregic connection with Belle-Îsle and its internal guardianship over the countryside, still restive after the defeat of the Chouannerie and the repulsion of the Quiberon invasion.

Above all, Vannes was a bastion of Frenchness, and its bourgeois residents were patriotic to the core, whether republican, Bonapartist, or royalist. Throughout this book, this thread has remained unbroken, reaching its greatest strength in the epic battle of the Société polymathique du Morbihan with the Bretonistes over the very nature of the region they lived in. This defense of France amid a Breton sea surely contributed to their proclivity to serve the state in civil and military professions and dedicate themselves to civic improvement. Such roles came to define the character of Vannes and its bourgeois elite as they did in many other medium-sized French cities that did not participate significantly in the industrial and commercial advances enshrined by many theorists of the age and historians after them as the essence of the nineteenth century.[49] But it could easily be argued that while this bourgeoisie could hardly be described as *conquérante*, its members were no less important in the making of modern France and indeed were numerically superior to *les hommes d'affaires*.

If one looks carefully at the most vital venues of action in civil society, the *sociétés savantes* so brilliantly resuscitated from obscurity by Jean-Pierre Chaline, it becomes clear that the bourgeoisie thus defined was proportionately more active, making contributions not only of which various localities might be proud, but which also had a real impact on the nation's development in all its complex aspects. Chaline put the point nicely: after noting that there was some validity to attacks on certain learned societies for limiting themselves to studies that were "travaux d'un localisme caricatural," he stresses that "it would be a mistake to generalize from [such] cases. . . . It was much more than simple 'érudites locaux' that we discovered at Saint-Omer, at Vannes or at Abbeville, but rather researchers capable, in their small *cité*, of making a real contribution to science and often indeed, via their regional studies, to lay the foundation of *un renouvellement veritable de nos connaissances*."[50] Nothing better describes the work of the SPM. If one might object that such activity hardly qualifies as "national

46. See Ted Margadant, *Urban Rivalries in the French Revolution* (Princeton, 1992), 224, 279–80.

47. This of course is the main thrust of Bertrand Frélaut's argument in *Les Bleus de Vannes, 1791–1795: Une élite urbaine pendant la Revolution* (Vannes, 1991).

48. See the remarkable study of Joël Cornette, *Un révolutionnaire ordinaire: Benoît Lacombe, 1759–1819* (Seyssel, 1986), about the daily world of a small-town (Gaillac) bourgeois elite during the revolutionary era.

49. See, above all, Stéphane Gerson, *Pride of Place: Local Memories and Political Culture in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, NY, 2003).

50. Chaline, *Sociabilité*, 222.

development," it should be remembered that the integration of Brittany, with all of its peculiarities intact, into the nation was in part a consequence of this society's research. The definition of "nation building" involves a great deal more than "economic growth," as France has proved time and again. And indeed, current historiography has shown the record to be not bad on that front either.[51]

Nonindustrial towns like Vannes and the involved citizens who pushed them forward made a contribution as significant as Roubaix, Sedan, Mulhouse, Vienne, Alès, Grasse, Mazamet, Agen, Limoges, La Rochelle, or Elbeuf (to name a few medium-sized towns based in industry or commerce) if we remove the blinders of economic productivity statistics. It is sad to read the assessment in Bernard André's chapter about nineteenth-century Vannes in the Privat series devoted to the history of French cities, titled "Ville rentière, ville de consommation: L'implosion (1815 à 1900)," which assumes that if Vannes declined economically, it had little to offer otherwise.[52] But in fact, its dedication to the nation and the roles in government and civil society played by its bourgeoisie gave it a new kind of significance. In the end, the town's bourgeoisie drew the attention of the Third Republic leadership to its place in defending the nation intellectually and more concretely, by the reputation and influence of several of its prominent sons, René Galles included, in military circles. The result was the establishment of the city as one of the main western centers of national defense, including a large army garrison.

The history of our families exemplifies the pathways of ascension of Vannes's bourgeoisie and the character of the elite who came to social, political, and cultural power in the nineteenth century. That power, of course, would not have been possible without a solid economic foundation. As with many of their coequals, their principal sources of wealth derived first from their professions and minimal assets in property gathered in the eighteenth century and then increasingly from land (though the Galles family continued to rely heavily on profits from publishing) as the opportunities of the Revolution and Empire presented themselves. All were in fields of active endeavor that came into their own during the twenty-five years of revolutionary upheaval: the notarial profession, publishing, and the military.[53]

But in fact their primary forms of capital were civic, political, and ultimately cultural. Because of their royalist politics, the era of the Restoration saw the full establishment of the Galles, Jollivet, and Le Ridant families in the elite ranks of the city. But theirs was a moderate and prudent royalism, and their enhanced social status led to

51. Although Rondo Cameron and Patrick O'Brien began this discussion long ago, a variety of more recent studies confirm that France's economic growth, measured by per capita GDP, rivaled that of the major European powers during the long nineteenth century and that its "different path" lay especially in the role of the state combined with innovative business enterprise. See, among many, Patrick Verley, *L'échelle du monde: Essai sur l'industrialisation de l'Occident* (Paris, 1997); Jeff Horn, *The Path Not Taken: French Industrialization in the Age of Revolution, 1750–1830* (Cambridge, MA, 2006); Michael Stephen Smith, *The Emergence of Modern Business Enterprise in France, 1800–1930* (Cambridge, MA, 2006).

52. Bernard André, "Ville rentière, ville de consommation: L'implosion (1815 à 1900)," in *Histoire de Vannes et sa région*, ed. Jean-Pierre Leguay (Toulouse, 1988), 203–45.

53. On the rather late emergence of *notaires*' local elite status, see Sébastien Jahan, *Profession, parenté, identité sociale: Les notaires de Poitiers aux temps modernes (1515–1815)* (Toulouse, 1999), 174–242.

marriages with families significantly to their political left, thus helping to form a core of kin-bound bourgeois who progressively came to dominate city life. The July Monarchy turned out to be the perfect setting for realizing this presence. Their circle became integrated with the other major moderate families and formed connections with all the administrative and judicial officialdom of Vannes and the Morbihan. Their civic involvement became intense, led by Jean-Marie Galles. In general, this was their "moment Guizot," the rule of the worthy for worthy ends.

As they increasingly made insertions and ties into a regional and national elite, their horizons expanded dramatically. But the roadblock of 1848 almost derailed their destiny, as it did for so many of their class who had nestled into power on the delicate fabric of the *juste milieu*. But again, as in so many other cities of this sort across the nation, they survived (in their case with their honor intact as they disdained the *républicains de lendemain*), put their faith in General Cavaignac, and saw François Jollivet-Castelot become mayor and deputy in the reaction. Thereafter, finding once again various places in the administration, military, and judiciary of city, region, and (increasingly) nation, they complemented such roles with intellectual pursuits, based in their local learned society, now expanding its concerns far beyond the practical toward fundamental research. Family members Louis and René Galles and brothers-in-law Alfred Lallemand and Marius Charrier were among the key figures in this enormous cultural effort, the final consequence of which, especially during the Third Republic, was (for better or worse) to build a more unitary and culturally integrated France.

This experience in becoming bourgeois was enhanced—a central argument of this book—by the experience of these families in the primordial realm of kinship. At every step of their ascent, marriage and the role of kin, both affinal and consanguineal, contributed mightily to the process. And the very nature of those relationships changed as we move forward from the era of these families' establishment in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to their entry into the town's bourgeois elite and the consolidation of that position after 1800. Following a pattern first brought to light in the detailed studies of Gérard Delille and David Sabean, marriages among our people shifted dramatically in that same time frame. Earlier, one sees the union of couples from the same general social milieu who nevertheless were unequal in terms of wealth and/or establishment—the one, in our cases, males of special talents, the other females with assets or connections. They were marriages between families without prior genetic relationships, non-consanguines, and often exogamous spatially as well. But the two marriages uniting the Galles, Jollivet, and Le Ridant families in 1787 were symptomatic of the arrival of each to solid bourgeois status as well as of the new kinship regime emerging in the later eighteenth century. Although advantages were brought to each by these unions, the three families were of equal economic and social status and were well entrenched in the city. And although none was related directly to the other, they now had powerful witnesses and friends who were and would produce more marriage partners for their children. More important, this double wedding consciously declared the unity of the three, a connection that would be repeatedly re-cemented in increasingly consanguineous bonds. Consanguinity was not the only instrument at their disposal, however, as each family, and all the others that joined their kinship

galaxy, continued to marry certain members out, exogamous both biologically and spatially, enhancing wealth, status, and power as surely as did their internal consolidation. The full flourishing of the new horizontal, sibling-based kinship regime and its place in a new bourgeois habitus then occurred during the nineteenth century.[54]

Much of this book has been devoted to understanding the workings of this relationship between class formation and kinship and need not be recharted. At every turn we have seen kinship in play. In politics, connections via kin, appropriate *démarches* on kin's behalf, rallying of kin for support, breaking down barriers between differing views of governance by intermarriage, and control of the levers of power by a kin-related elite ensured that a certain political culture came into being, one shepherded by bourgeois families in Vannes and the Morbihan (and likely across Europe). In civil society, associations and commissions cooperated to promote better conditions of health and urban design, and sociability within the Maçonnerie gave way to a vibrant learned society that moved toward research of national significance, all animated by men who often addressed one another as cousin. In economic life, loans among kin and partnerships with brothers and cousins were routine, and financial difficulty would be resolved within the family. And finally, in the interior world of every individual, where historians in recent decades have been searching for the origins of the "modern self" (where the key to the secret of Western leadership toward modernity perhaps resided), it turns out that while self-motivation may have been a driving myth, it rarely succeeded without the patient dedication on behalf of "ego" by a web of kinfolk providing support on every level: money, influence, advice, and above all love.[55]

I believe that the most original contribution of this story, extracted as it has been from the daily words of the women and men who populate it, is to underline that love (or, perhaps better put, the constant expression of it) was the mortar with which kinship ties in the new regime were secured—and upon which bourgeois hegemony was built. Beneath the "strategies" and the "instruments" making them operational, which social scientists can identify by exploring *consequences* of acts undertaken by their "subjects," lay an emotional revolution traditionally explored via the scholarship of cultural criticism, but now vastly expanded by the advent of the history of the emotions, spearheaded by William Reddy. It is not my purpose to critique this scholarship,[56] and indeed much of my evidence resonates positively with its emphasis on "sensibility" (especially male), *tendresse*, the centrality of the "couple," brother-sister incest narratives, romantic love and/or its denial by outdated convention, and the rest of the tropes so common there, but rather to propose that love served interest just as

54. The best overviews of these changing kinship regimes are David Warren Sabean and Simon Teuscher, "Kinship in Europe: A New Approach to Long-Term Development," in Sabean, Teuscher, and Mathieu, *Kinship in Europe*, 1–32; and Christopher H. Johnson and David Sabean, "From Siblingship to Siblinghood: Kinship and the Shaping of European Society (1300–1900)," in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Sabean (New York, 2011), 1–28.

55. The best analysis of the philosophical/psychological representation of the self in the first half of the nineteenth century (above all that of Victor Cousin) is Jan Goldstein, *The Post-Revolutionary Self: Politics and Psyche in France, 1750–1850* (Cambridge, MA, 2005).

56. See the introduction to this book.

interest served love in the creation of a class culture bound together by kinship. It is probably impossible to uncouple these two primordial forces of the bourgeois age, and we must abandon nineteenth- and early twentieth-century structuralist-functionalist theory that would demand that we do so.[57]

The most striking form of love in the new kinship regime is among siblings. After the rancor (and court cases) between siblings in the old, we suddenly witness siblings marrying siblings in 1787 and 1797; correspondence in which siblings in the colonies are informed about every detail of what their brothers and sisters are doing along with loving assessments of those at home; siblings jumping into the breach when tragedy strikes, and a brother, René Jollivet, simply taking over as the father to his sister's and (double) brother-in-law's family on their deaths, adding six children to his own brood of seven. Among all those children the bonds of love are so deep that there becomes no distinction between siblings and cousins, who as adults write to one another almost daily, whose thoughts are always about "one's own," who speak of sibling/cousin love as love's highest form and view cousin marriage as preferable to and more longer-lasting than all others. On and on the relationships go, intensifying in the next generation; cousins marry, their courtships occurring in a sea of family love and constant socializing in town and country.[58]

But all was not necessarily harmonious, nor were power relationships resolved in the new regime. We are all familiar with what the "band of brothers" did to the "sisters of liberty" when the latter asserted themselves in the French Revolution. Nevertheless, though perhaps "paradoxes" were the primary result of the first feminist movement, it left a heritage that moved forward in various ways in the nineteenth century, and not only among bourgeois women. Susan Desan has stressed that the equal rights to inheritance supposedly assured by the Code provoked conflicts among siblings, especially between brothers and sisters, as the old patterns of adjustment had to be abandoned. Still, it might be argued that her cases were only those that came to judgment, meaning that many were resolved amicably, a consequence perhaps of the new values of sibling love. Most fundamentally, however, the new sibling archipelago bore within it an inherent matrix of subordination and was institutionalized by the Code. Patriarchy of the old sort was dealt a death blow by processes of kinship transformation, enlightened thought about human equality, and the decapitation of the father in 1793. But as Carole Pateman has named it, father-right was replaced by husband-right—in the new sibling regime, only a step away from brother-right, the two in fact often blurred by the aura of same-generation incestual longing and the reality of close marriage. The Code gave powers to husbands to rule as never before within the family,

57. The most exhaustive examination of this social-scientific tradition and its shortcomings, I believe, is Jürgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, vol. 2, *Lifeworld and System: A Critique of Functionalist Reason*, trans. Thomas McCarthy (Boston, 1987). A remarkable effort to deal with the tensions inherent in the dyad in historical settings is Hans Medick and David Warren Sabean, eds., *Interest and Emotion: Essays on the Study of Family and Kinship* (Cambridge, 1988). For more detail, see my discussion in the introduction to this book.

58. For an overview of the history of sibling emotions and roles, see Johnson and Sabean, "From Siblingship to Siblinghood." The chapters of this volume chart the transformations.

wives losing rights built in to the laws of the old regime. The "little monarchy" of the past was hedged in by rules of succession, dowry protection, widows' rights that now were "liberalized," giving virtual free rein to husbandly power. Moreover, no longer could a pregnant single woman file a complaint before the law against the father of her child as in the past. Divorce, equal for both parties in the early legislation of the Revolution, now looked a good deal more like the Muslim world—before it was prohibited altogether by the Restoration. And, as Gabrielle Houbre has demonstrated in detail, the "discipline of love" for unmarried women meant something far different from what it did for men, who were trained in the art by "experienced" concubines. Woman's role was to be comely, even coquettish, as we have seen in our well-documented courtship, but certainly not to attract the opposite sex as Eugène did *les balles*.[59] And while I have no direct documentation of it in my evidence, it was generally considered *de rigueur* for married men to have affairs and mistresses, though forbidden, à la Madame Bovary and Indiana, to their wives. Although the marriages of the latter were surely not typical, Flaubert and Sand fully understood the inequality that underlay the system. And we in fact do not know what Eugène did during his time away from Adèle; what are we to make of his several lines about encounters with pretty women while on the road? Was he just trying "to make her jealous"?

More fundamental is what we do know for certain. As powerful and resourceful as all the women in this story may have been, what they did was always on *behalf* of their men. They may also have wielded great power at home and often blurred the line between the public and domestic spheres. Certainly they were crucial to their kin group's social ascent. But in the last analysis, only with her son could Adèle actually say what she meant and assume that he would respond—which he did. Still, her purpose was to guide him to fulfill his destiny and that of his family. With her brother-husband, it was always "That is for you to say."[60]

Thus was made the nineteenth-century bourgeoisie. This book has focused on the inner world of these families for a reason. It was there that the bedrock of their aspirations and the modes of their realization were formed. Without the full participation of *all* members, in this new post-primogeniture age, the full dimensions of the pathways to power could not have been revealed. Large families counted on their heft and their range to create connections via elaborate networks of kin that advanced their interests. But it was never based on some predetermined plot. Rather, what had emerged

59. Among many others, these lines are rooted in the work of Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley, 1992); Dominique Godineau, *The Women of Paris and Their French Revolution*, trans. Katherine Streip (Berkeley, 1998); Joan Wallach Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man* (Cambridge, MA, 1996); Whitney Walton, *Eve's Proud Descendants: Four Women Writers and Republican Politics in Nineteenth-Century France* (Stanford, 2000); Susan Desan, *The Family on Trial in Revolutionary France* (Berkeley, 2004); Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford, 1988); Jennifer Ngaire Heuer, *The Family and the Nation: Gender and Citizenship in Revolutionary France, 1789–1830* (Ithaca, NY, 2005); and Gabrielle Houbre, *La discipline de l'amour: L'éducation sentimentale des filles et des garçons à l'age de romanticisme* (Paris, 1997).

60. See the many parallels in Bonnie Smith, *Ladies of the Leisure Class: The Bourgeoises of Northern France in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, 1981).

was an ethos within a bourgeois habitus of sensibility, compassion, and love—always sexually tinged—that served remarkably well the ends of upward mobility. Within this context, women, whatever their rank in age, their marital status, their command of assets, or their personal attributes, played fundamental roles, above all as the agents of kinship. Without their input, a different story would have been told, one in which bourgeois ascendancy in the West might well have been problematic.

Bibliographical Notes

In lieu of an extensive bibliography and to avoid footnote overload, I have consigned further bibliographical citation and discussion to this appended section. Each note here corresponds to a reference in the footnotes.

1. Ordinary correspondence and tapping the thought of the people

This paucity has not been the case in Great Britain, as highlighted by the prizewinning book by Susan Whyman *The Pen and the People: English Letter Writers, 1600–1800* (Oxford, 2009), whose protagonists range far down the social scale and demonstrate abundantly her central thesis: the "extraordinary literacy" of "ordinary people" in the eighteenth century (see 236–41). Tapping the interior and intellectual lives of the middling and lower classes in France has largely been accomplished through the use of autobiographies, the most famous being that of Jacques Ménétra, published and annotated by Daniel Roche. Roche and his students, of course, have also plumbed the depths of the shifts in consumption, tastes, values, lifestyles, and literacy of ordinary people in eighteenth-century France, especially through the use of notarial inventories. See above all Daniel Roche, *The People of Paris: An Essay in Popular Culture in the 18th Century*, trans. Marie Evans and Gwynne Lewis (Berkeley, 1981). Jacques Rancière, using autobiography, the press, and published correspondence, created a remarkable vision of the intellectual horizons of literate working people in *The Nights of Labor: The Workers' Dream in Nineteenth-Century France*, trans. John Drury (Philadelphia, 1989).

2. Johnson contributions

"Die Geschwister Archipel: Bruder-Schwester-Liebe und Klassenformation in Frankreich des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Die Liebe des Geschwister*, ed. Karin Hausen and Regina Schulte, special issue of *L'Homme: Zeitschrift für Feministische Geschichtswissenschaft* 13 (2003): 50–67; "Kinship, Civil Society, and Power in Nineteenth-Century Vannes," *Kinship in Europe: Approaches to Long-Term Development*, ed. David Warren Sabean, Simon Teuscher, and Jon Mathieu (New York, 2007), 258–83; "Siblinghood and the Emotional Dimensions of the New Kinship System, 1800–1850: A French Example," in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabean (New York, 2011), 189–220; "Into the World: Kinship and Nation-Building in France, 1750–1885," in *Transregional and Transnational Families in Europe and Beyond: Experiences since the Middle Ages*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson, David Warren Sabean, Simon Teuscher, and Francesca Trivellato (New York, 2011), 201–28; and "Class Dimensions of Blood, Kinship, and Race in Britanny, 1780–1880," in *Blood and Kinship: Matter and Metaphor from Ancient Rome to the Present*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson, Bernhard Jussen, David Warren Sabean, and Simon Teuscher (New York, 2013), 196–226.

3. Marriage choice

Because of the incredible depth of his documentation, Sabean goes well beyond most early modern research with regard to marriage strategies. Much of the work on France (with which I am most familiar) emphasized that propertied families, rural and urban, noble and commoner, married within their social rank and their general professional category; sons and indeed grandsons remained within rank and category as well. Therefore, despite noted exceptions and certainly a degree of social mobility, especially in the eighteenth century, early modern marriage was deemed socially "equal" and status and professional "continuity" the rule. But see studies exploring the complexities of this issue from the French literature: Jean-Pierre Bardet, *Rouen aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles: Les mutations d'un espace social* (Paris, 1983); François-Joseph Ruggiu, "Tel père, tel fils? La reproduction professionnelle dans la marchandise et l'artisanat parisiens au cours des années 1650 et 1660," *Histoire, Économie et Société* (1998): 561–82; Mathieu Marraud, *De la Ville à l'État: La bourgeoisie parisienne, XVIIe–XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 2009); François-Joseph Ruggiu, *L'individu et al famille dans les sociétés urbaines anglaise et françaises (1720–1780)* (Paris, 2007), especially chaps. 1 and 2; James Farr, *Hands of Honor: Artisans and Their World in Dijon, 1550–1650* (Ithaca, NY, 1988), 122–49.

4. Bernard Derouet bibliography

"Parenté et marché foncier à l'époque moderne: une réinterprétation," *Annales HSS* (2001): 337–68; "La transmission égalitaire du patrimoine dans la France rurale (XVIe–XIXe siècles): Nouvelles perspectives de recherche," in *Historia de la familia*, ed. F. Chacón Jiménez, vol. 3 of *Familia, casa y trabajo*, 3 vols. (Murcia, 1997), 73–92; "Pratiques de l'alliance en milieu de communautés familiales (Bourbonnais, 1600–1750)," in *Le choix du conjoint*, ed. G. Brunet, A. Fauve-Chamoux, and M. Oris (Lyon, 1998), 227–51; with Joseph Goy, "Transmettre la terre: Les inflexions d'une problématique de la différence," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome: Italie et Méditerranée (MEFRIM)* 110 (1998): 117–51; "Le partage des frères: Héritage masculin et reproduction sociale en Franche-Comté aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles," *Annales ESC* (1993): 453–74; "Pratiques successorales et rapport à la terre: Les sociétés paysannes d'ancien régime," *Annales ESC* (1989): 173–206; "Territoire et parenté: Pour une mise en perspective de la communauté rurale et des formes de reproduction familiale," *Annales HSS* (1995): 645–86; "Cycle de vie, marché du travail et transferts fonciers: Chayanov et la paysannerie française d'Ancien Régime," in D. Barjot and O. Faron, *Migrations, cycle de vie familial et marché du travail* (*Cahier des Annales de Démographie Historique*, no. 3) (Paris, 2002), 305–17; "Les pratiques familiales, le droit et la construction des différences (15e–19e siècles)," *Annales HSS* (1997): 369–91; "La terre, la personne et le contrat: Exploitation et associations familiales en Bourbonnais (XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles)," *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* (2003): 27–51.

5. The new regime, bourgeois ascent, and 1830

David Skuy, *Assassination, Politics, and Miracles: France and the Royalist Reaction of 1820* (Montreal, 2003), regards the Ultra reaction in the early twenties as the catalyst for this development. Denise Davidson, *France after the Revolution: Urban Life, Gender, and the New Order* (Cambridge, MA, 2007), analyzes various publics, Parisian and provincial (*les Boulevards*, theater, *cercles*, salons, charities, cabarets, and dancehalls), stressing the important presence of bourgeois women (though withdrawing toward domestic pursuits in the later twenties) and a growing class division, led by bourgeois males, as one approaches 1830. On liberal politics, see Sheryl Kroen, *Politics and Theater: The Crisis of Legitimacy in Restoration France, 1815–1830* (Berkeley, 2000); and Robert Alexander, *Re-Writing the French Revolutionary Tradition* (Cambridge,

2003). Two important works explore the emergence of what might be called the bourgeois self in this era: Jan Goldstein, *The Post-Revolutionary Self: Politics and Psyche in France, 1750–1850* (Cambridge, MA, 2005), which focuses especially on Victor Cousin, whose thought and values became pervasive in higher education (and were experienced directly by René Galles) during the July Monarchy; and Kathleen Kete, *Making Way for Genius: The Aspiring Self in France from the Old Regime to the New* (New Haven, 2012), which examines the lives and works of Germaine de Stael, Stendhal, and Georges Cuvier, arguing that a "new regime" of competitive individualism began to emerge but was constantly beset by ongoing doubts about the morality of *égoïsme*, a reality that shows up in repeated condemnations of the politics of *parti-pris*. See also William M. Reddy on the moderate emotions binding the liberal *Globe* group together in *Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge, 2001), 232–35. The evolution of Guizot's thought in the twenties toward the concept of *le citoyen capacitaire* is brilliantly presented in Pierre Rosanvallon, *Le moment Guizot, ou la critique de la raison doctrinaire* (Paris, 1985), 64–104. On women and politics, see the fascinating book by Anne Verjus, *Le cens de la famille: Les femmes et le vote, 1789–1848* (Paris, 2002), which argues that on the new legal and electoral terrain of the *monarchies censitaires*, the family becomes a political category, and women, already *citoyennes* in a civic sense (rights before the law), are also, as adults, central to the family and by that fact included in the general *citoyenété*. Their opinions were thus given status and taken seriously. As we see in this book, various members of our families, especially Marie Jollivet Le Ridant and Adèle Jollivet Galles, lend exemplary truth to this notion. With male "universal" suffrage in 1848, the concept of the family as a political category gave way to that of the individual political actor *hors famille*, and the fight for female suffrage was on. See also Whitney Walton, *Eve's Proud Descendants: Four Women Writers and Republican Politics in Nineteenth-Century France* (Stanford, 2000), chaps. 5 and 6.

6. Bourgeois leadership after 1830

Roland Caty and Éliane Richard, *Armateurs marseillais au XIXe siècle* (Marseille, 1986); Ugo Bellagamba, *Les avocats de Marseille: Practiciens du droit et acteurs politiques, XVIIIème et XIXème siècles* (Aix-en Provence, 2001); Christine Pellissier, *La vie privée des notables lyonnais au XIXe siècle* (Lyon, 1996); Carol Harrison, *The Bourgeois Citizen in Nineteenth-Century France: Gender, Sociability, and the Uses of Emulation* (Oxford, 1999); for Paris, see the great "old" social history study of Adeline Daumard, *La bourgeoisie parisienne de 1815 à 1848* (Paris, 1963). See also her not-so-old (and quite nuanced) *Les bourgeois et la bourgeoisie en France* (Paris, 1987).

7. Rancière

The journal *Révoltes logiques* (published 1974–1981) initiated what might be called the linguistic turn in France, but remained faithful to an agenda of social change grounded in historical analysis and, under the leadership of Geneviève Fraisse, added a strong feminist voice to the struggle. The central purpose of its founders, influenced by Foucault, was "the elaboration of 'an alternative historical memory,' based on thought that comes from below," and the analysis of the past with "theories of discourse and ideology." See Geneviève Fraisse, *Reason's Muse: Sexual Difference and the Birth of Democracy*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (Chicago, 1994); quotes from the foreword by Joan W. Scott, x–xi. The best discussion in English of Rancière and his work is Donald Reid's introduction to *The Nights of Labor: The Workers' Dream in Nineteenth-Century France*, trans. John Drury (Philadelphia, 1989). For an illuminating interchange on social history's reaction to the interventions of *Révoltes logiques*, see Jacques Rancière, "The Myth of

the Artisan: Critical Reflections on a Category of Social History," with responses by William Sewell and Christopher H. Johnson, *International Labor and Working-Class History* 24 (Fall 1983): 1–25; and Rancière, "A Reply," in the next issue, (Spring 1985): 42–46. Also essays by Rancière, Sewell, and Johnson in *Work in France*, ed. Steven Kaplan and Cynthia Koepp (Ithaca, NY, 1984). Rancière, while in no way denying that the impact of innovations in the capitalist organization of work during the July Monarchy on rising worker militancy (my main argument), underlined (and I agree) that other important factors were involved, mostly perceptible in the cultural realm. Rancière developed this perspective fully in *The Nights of Labor*. This is precisely the sociocultural history that I now believe we should aspire to.

8. Love and sensibility

Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*, trans. Robert Baldick (New York, 1962); Jean-Louis Flandrin, *Families in Former Times: Kinship, Household, and Sexuality*, trans. Richard Southern (Cambridge, 1979); François Lebrun, *La vie conjugale sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris, 1985); Marie-Françoise Lévy, ed., *L'enfant, famille et la Révolution française* (Paris, 1990); J. G. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago, 1992); Randolph Trumbach, *The Rise of the Egalitarian Family* (New York, 1978); Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (Chicago, 1987); Maurice Daumas, *La tendresse amoureuse* (Paris, 1998); Richard Rand, ed., *Intimate Encounters: Love and Domesticity in Eighteenth-Century France* (Princeton, 1997) (art history); Anne Vincent-Buffault, *Histoire des larmes: XVIIIe–XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1986); Terry Eagleton, *The Rape of Clarissa* (Oxford,1982); Elizabeth MacArthur, *Extravagant Narratives: Closure and Dynamics in the Epistolary Form* (Princeton, 1986); Gabrielle Houbre, *Le discipline de l'amour: L'éducation sentimentale des filles et des garçons à l'age du romanticisme* (Paris, 1997). Two books emphasize the revitalization of the significance of male virile "honor," as manifested in the duel and general combativeness in the nineteenth-century bourgeois ethos, but their focus is on public interaction with other males. See Robert Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France* (Oxford, 1993); and William Reddy, *The Invisible Code: Honor and Sentiment in Postrevolutionary France* (Berkeley, 1997). In the private sphere, male sensibility and *tendresse* continued to flourish—or so it seems from my research, that of Davidoff and Hall, and, more recently, Anne Verjus and Denise Davidson, *Le roman conjugale: Chroniques de la vie familialle à l´époque de la Revolution et l'Empire* (Seyssel, 2011). Reddy also recognizes this in his *Navigation of Feeling* (Cambridge, 2001).

9. Siblings and the new kinship regime

It is impossible to generalize about brother-sister relationships (which Desan does not do) from sources (lawsuits concerning inheritance) touching a tiny segment that, by definition, was in conflict. In *The Family on Trial in Revolutionary France* (Berkeley, 2004), Desan makes the vital point that their lawsuits politicized many women, creating greater awareness of their rights, which were then demanded in petition drives for egalitarian inheritance. It is likely, though not explicitly discussed, that brothers, in the face of such determination and public support for equality, in the end would find harmony preferable to animus.

The Europe-wide trend in practice and discourse toward horizontal kinship structures and the generalization of the depth of sibling-cousin affective bonds only came into their own from 1750 to 1850. See Christopher H. Johnson and David Sabean, "From Siblingship to Siblinghood: Kinship and the Shaping of European Society (1300–1900)," in *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Sa-

bean (New York, 2011), 1–28. In addition, see Leonore Davidoff, *Thicker Than Water: Siblings and Their Relations, 1780–1920* (Oxford, 2012); and Christine Adams, "Devoted Companions or Surrogate Spouses? Sibling Relations in Eighteenth-Century France," in *Visions and Revisions in Eighteenth-Century France*, ed. Christine Adams, Jack R. Censer, and Lisa Jane Graham (University Park, PA, 1997), 59–76. Literary representations of brother-sister ties (and sexual relations or near misses) are seen everywhere in this era, often accompanied by sensual (and repressed) love between writers and their siblings. See above all for the complexities of intrafamilial relationships Ruth Perry, *Novel Relations: The Transformation of Kinship in English Literature and Culture, 1748–1818* (Cambridge, 2004). Overviews include Ellen Pollak, *Incest and the English Novel, 1684–1814* (Baltimore, 2003); Valerie Sanders, *The Brother-Sister Culture in Nineteenth-Century Literature from Austen to Woolf* (New York, 2002); and Agnès Fine, "Frères et soeurs en Europe dans la recherche en sciences sociales," and Didier Lett, "Histoire des frères et soeurs" (with an extensive bibliography), in *Liens familiaux, Clio: Histoire, Femmes et Société* 34 (2011): 167–83, 184–202. Famous real-life examples of the bond (often accompanied by tragic circumstances for the sister) include the Goethes, Mendelssohns, Hegels, Byrons, Shelleys, Chateaubriands, Balzacs, Quinets, Flauberts, and Renans. On the centrality of uncles and aunts, see Marion Trévisi, *Au coeur de la parenté: Oncles et tantes dans la France des Lumières* (Paris, 2008).

10. Sexuality

Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley, 1992), chap. 5; Ronald Hayman, *Marquis de Sade: Genius of Passion* (New York, 2003); Roland Barthes, *Sade, Fourier, Loyola* (Paris, 1971); Robert Darnton, *The Forbidden Bestsellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (New York, 1995). For an up-to-date overview of the broad sweep of early modern European sexuality (with a strong emphasis on non-conjugal relationships), see Katherine Crawford, *European Sexualities, 1400–1800* (Cambridge, 2007); excellent guides to further reading are attached to each chapter. For transatlantic comparisons, see Richard Godbeer, *Sexual Revolution in Early America* (Baltimore, 2002). The history of the couple and the complexities of the sexualization of the relationship in and out of marriage was introduced with éclat by Maurice Daumas in *La tendresse amoureuse, XVIe–XVIIIe siècles* (Paris, 1996); see also Agnès Walch, *Histoire du couple en France* (Rennes, 2003). On all aspects of sex and the celebration of (and efforts to constrain) its pleasures, see the seminal study of Alain Corbin, *L'harmonie des plaisirs: Les manières de jouir du siècle des Lumières à l'avénement de la sexologie* (Paris, 2008). For an engaging set of vignettes about libertinage (one of which was relevant to an experience of one of my protagonists), read Olivier Blanc, *L'amour à Paris au temps de Louis XVI* (Paris, 2002). For an evocation of sexual life among married couples (comparable to my own) from sources other than memoirs and literature, in this case letters, see Anne Verjus and Denise Davidson, *Le roman conjugale: Chroniques de la vie familialle à l´époque de la Revolution et l'Empire* (Seyssel, 2011), 41–68. This all dovetails with William Reddy's analysis in *The Navigation of Feeling* (Cambridge, 2001).

11. Women and letter writing

In contrast, Christine Adams, *A Taste for Comfort and Status: A Bourgeois Family in Eighteenth-Century France* (University Park, PA, 2000), notes that during the 1750s to the 1770s in the *haute-bourgeois* Lamothe family, the mother (who could "barely write") and the better-educated daughters had difficulty writing letters, which were sprinkled with apologies for poor spelling (78). The volume of women's letters appears to be less than 10 percent of the

collection. Most were about family and domestic affairs (43–49), but the elder sister Marie, who became a substitute mother in the family after the death of her own, wrote letters of advice to her youngest brother, Victor. Anne Verjus and Denise Davidson, *Le roman conjugale: Chroniques de la vie familialle à l´époque de la Revolution et l'Empire* (Seyssel, 2011), 13–14, 26–27, point out that many letters from wives to husbands were burned at the request of the former, thus leaving a very large gap between the two (341 to 57); the only voluminous female representation (150 letters) is from a mother to her son, but is again overshadowed by some 500 letters from the latter's father-in-law (see "Sources," 333–34). This study most closely parallels my own in time, volume of letters, and level of intimacy, but the voice of husbands, fascinating as it is, dominates. By contrast, the collection (1795–1933) used in Cécile Dauphin, Pierrette Lebrun-Pézerat, and Danièle Poublan, *Ces bonnes lettres: Une correspondance familiale au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1995), comprises a two-to-one ratio in favor of women, similar to my own, though the largest number date from after 1850 in an age when women within bourgeois families became the creators and regulators of the "family pact." The authors underline the same issue of disappeared letters from women (central to their thesis of the lack of intimacy in their three thousand letters).

12. Family size

There is unfortunately no study that I know of that deals specifically with the issue of family size by social class or income level in France during this era, but it is well known that fertility began its long decline in the first half of the nineteenth century and that peasant-proprietor family limitation was largely responsible for it. But evidence from local and family studies (not Paris, however, a point made by David Garrioch) points to large and even growing numbers of (surviving) children among upper-middle-class families. The early age of marriage for women (age twenty-two in my sample for Vannes) and the shunning of contraception (though the knowledge was certainly available), unlike among small property owners, probably account for the phenomenon. My examination of genealogies and efforts at family reconstitution of the bourgeois elite of Vannes indicates that before mid-century, most families had four or more children who lived to adulthood. Death of wives was a grim presence, but men rapidly remarried, usually to younger women. Exact figures are hard to come by (and the issue does not arise in many studies owing to the arduous research required to recompose families statistically), but Davidoff and Hall, in their classic work on English middle-class families, found that for their eighty-three families, "the average number of children was 7.4 with birth intervals from fourteen to twenty months." Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (Chicago, 1987), 223. The most important work on the general problem remains Charles Tilly, ed., *Historical Studies of Changing Fertility* (Princeton, 1978), which focused above all on analyzing the relationship of fertility and family size to the general processes of industrialization, but only Étienne van de Walle in his chapter, "Alone in Europe: The French Fertility Decline until 1850" (257–88), broaches the issue of class differences, arguing from (not much) literary evidence that the bourgeoisie followed the aristocracy in the extensive practice of contraception leading to a general decline in class fertility from the later eighteenth century on (264–66). In fact, most of the literary evidence is not about *marital* contraception, which is the issue. The way families *continued* to control the division of the patrimony was by orienting some children toward non-marriage, particularly by entering the church or, for men, the military (which had a disproportionate number of lifetime bachelors) and buying out their shares; cousin marriage was also a means. In examining genealogies of family networks among the bourgeois elite of Vannes, I found that roughly one-fourth of the children who came of age between 1770 and 1820 did not marry, while their married

brothers and sisters produced four or more surviving children (if not cut off by parental death). The following generations of the nineteenth century saw a marked increase in the number of unmarried siblings (especially women becoming nuns) *as well as* a decline in the number of children of married couples. Among the dozens of monographs on France providing evidence of a peak in bourgeois family size in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, see Jean-Pierre Chaline, *Les bourgeois de Rouen: Une élite urbaine au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1982), especially selected genealogies, 415–30; Leon Rostaing, *La famille de Montgolfier, ses alliances, ses descendants* (Lyon, 1933); Roland Caty and Elaine Richard, *Armateurs marseillais au XIXe siècle* (Marseille, 1986); Cécile Dauphin, Pierrette Lebrun-Pézerat, and Danièle Poublan, *Ces bonnes lettres: Une correspondance familiale au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1995), chap. 1.

13. Database for kinship analysis of Vannes's bourgeois elite

I have prepared profiles of all the principal actors and genealogies of their families (416 surnames, 1,042 individuals), largely derived from *état civil* (civil status) records, registers of births, deaths, and marriages—above all, the last. *Actes de mariage*, after the secularization of the *état civil* records in 1792, provide a remarkable source for social history and are critical for kinship study. Although there was some variation from regime to regime, they give the full names and titles of the groom and bride, their birth dates and places, their professions, and their residence; the same for the spouses' parents, except age and birthplace (plus year and place of death); the same for the four witnesses—two for the bride, two for the groom usually—except birthplace, plus the crucial indication of their relationship to the bride and groom. Overall, 83 percent of the witnesses in this social class were relatives. This figure runs higher than the national average and slightly higher than in Brittany generally. See Jacques Dupâquier, "Le choix des témoins dans les mariages civils au XIXe siècle," in *Aux sources de la puissance*, ed. Françoise Thélamon (Rouen, 1989), 155–60. Signatures beyond the witnesses on marriage acts include those of relatives (a majority of them women) and friends. Although only the names appear, it is often fairly easy to identify them. Married women, happily, include their maiden name, another important source for understanding relationships. Unless otherwise noted, kin networks discussed in this section of the text are constructed from these materials. The Archives du Morbihan have microfilmed all parish registers and communal *états civils* up to 1830, and manuscript registers for the rest of the century are available without restriction; ADM, 2 E (Vannes and several other communes). Social status can best be appreciated, from 1804 to 1848, by the titles men and women are accorded by the presiding *juge du Tribunal civil* and the mayor of Vannes or his *adjoints* on the official civil *actes de mariage*. Of these, 10 percent: Monsieur, Madame, Mademoiselle (the group under study); 30 percent: Le Sieur, La Dame, La Demoiselle; 60 percent: name only. The social homogeneity of all the assembled is the striking fact. Economic status and political prominence, measured by tax lists and a full list of appointive and elective officeholders, confirm the elite status of our protagonists; ADM, 3 M 25 (1834 and 1837 *cens* lists for municipal elections) and the *Annuaire du Morbihan*, 1833–1848.

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